

L de Plessis

AFRICANA:

MERENSKY-BIBLIOTEEK

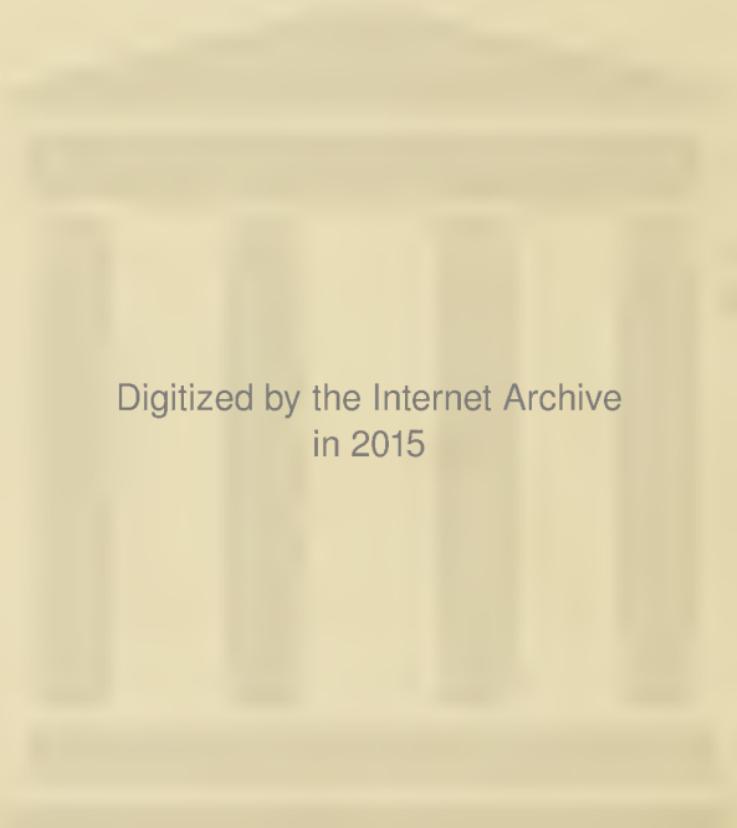
UNIVERSITEIT VAN PRETORIA.

Klasnommer... ZPA (6)

Registernommer... 68009

CHASE





Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2015

https://archive.org/details/natalreprintofal00chas_0

NATAL,
A RE-PRINT
OF ALL
THE AUTHENTIC NOTICES—DESCRIPTIONS—PUBLIC ACTS AND DOCUMENTS—PETITIONS—MANIFESTOES—CORRESPONDENCE—
GOVERNMENT ADVERTISEMENTS AND PROCLAMATIONS—BULLETINS AND MILITARY DESPATCHES RELATIVE TO NATAL,
WITH
A NARRATIVE OF EVENTS AT THAT SETTLEMENT;
IN TWO PARTS.

~~~~~  
PART THE FIRST,  
FROM A.D. 1498, TO A.D. 1837.  
~~~~~  
BY
JOHN CENTLIVRES CHASE,
NOTARY PUBLIC, &c.

~~~~~  
“ \_\_\_\_\_ what is said,  
Wisdom considers : what remains to say,  
It will with patience hear; and find a time  
Both meet to hear and answer highest things.”  
SHAKESPEARE.

~~~~~  
GRAHAM'S TOWN :
R. GODLONTON, PRINTER, HIGH-STREET.

1843.

MEMORANDUM.

THE object of the present publication is to collect into one concentrated focus all that has appeared in print or otherwise respecting the country of Natal. The more specific purpose of this is to enable those persons, who feel an interest in the late extraordinary events at that place, to form, by such an array of facts, a dispassionate judgment thereon, so that, while a chance of justice may be given to the offended majesty of Great Britain, a chance may also be afforded of mercy and consideration to the errors of the unfortunate and much-to-be-pitied men, who occupy so painfully-prominent a part in the present history of our Colony. "*Audi alteram partem*" may be a complete triticism, but, nevertheless, particularly worthy of attention at this conjuncture ; for there are—whatever may be urged of the indefeasible duty of allegiance on the one part, and the claim of protection by the subject for that allegiance on the other—*two sides to the Natal question.*

The compiler had intended to re-print the whole of these papers *without* gloss or comment, but it

was found totally impossible to do so : he has, however, confined himself within such limits as merely to connect and explain the narrative of occurrences. It was also his wish to have completed the publication of the papers in a single pamphlet, but so much interesting matter has presented itself that he has found it requisite to divide the work into two parts. The first brings down the history to the close of the year 1837 ; the second will resume it at that point, and carry up the Narrative, Papers, &c., to the end of 1842. The second part is nearly ready for the press.

J. C. C.

*Cradock's Town Sheep Walk,
Near Port Elizabeth, 29th November, 1842.*

NATAL.

A.D. 1498.

NATAL, at present the focus of all our colonial interest, and probably destined to become the scene of important events, on which some of the great problems of the law of nations will be practically discussed, appears to have been first discovered in 1498. In that year the illustrious VASCO DE GAMA, who transferred the rich commerce of the East from princely Venice to enterprising Portugal, visited the coasts of Southern Africa on his way to India, and passing that portion, the object of our present notice, upon Christmas Day, gave to it the name it has ever since borne, in honor of the nativity of the Saviour of Mankind.

A.D. 1575.

The earliest *description* of the coast and its immediate vicinage to be met with, is that of Manuel de Mesquitta Perestrello, a Portuguese Navigator, dispatched by King Sebastian in 1575 to make a marine survey, a condensed account of which will be found in Mr. Saxe Bannister's "Humane Policy," in the Appendix No. 1, but is unnecessary to insert it here, as we have more recent and better accounts.

A.D. 1683.

The next notice is found in Hamilton's East Indies, Vol. 1, page 9 :

" I believe the first communication or commerce, either to Natal or Delagoa, with the *English* came by accident. About 1683 an English ship, the *Johanna*, was lost somewhere about Delagoa. The natives shewed the shipwrecked men more civility and humanity than some nations that I know, who pretend much religion and politeness ; for they accommodated their guests with whatever they wanted of the product of their country, at very easy rates ; and assisted what they could to save part of the damaged cargo, receiving very moderate rewards for their labor and pains. Their language was by signs ; and for a few glass beads, knives, scissars, needles, thread, and small looking-glasses, they *hired* themselves to carry many things to a neighbouring country, and procured others, who also served them for guides towards the Cape of Good Hope, and provided eatables for their masters, all the while they were under their conduct. And, having carried them about 200 miles on their way by land, they provided new guides and porters for them, who conducted them and provided for them as the others had done, for 700 or 800 miles farther, which they travelled in 40 days, and so delivered their charge to others till they arrived at the Cape ; and some of the English falling sick on the way, they carried them in hammocks till they either recovered or died ; and out of eighty men there were but three or four who died ; but how long they journeyed before they arrived at the Cape I have forgotten. This account I have from one of the travellers. He told me that the natural fertility of those countries he travelled through made the inhabitants lazy, indolent, indocile, and simple. Their rivers are abundantly stored with good fish and water-fowl, besides manatees, or sea-cows, and crocodiles ; their woods with large trees, wild cattle, and deer, elephants, rhinoceroses, lions, tigers, wolves, toxes, for game ; also many sorts of fowls and birds, with ostriches."

A.D. 1684.

The navigator Dampier has preserved a very interesting, and somewhat detailed description of the country and inhabitants, their manners and customs, &c., derived from his friend, Capt. Rogers, who visited it several times, which may be seen in Bannister's work before mentioned, in the Appendix i—p. vi—but for the reasons before mentioned, need not to be reprinted here.

A.D. 1685.

In the Dessinean Collection of Manuscripts, to be found in the Public Library at Cape Town, is a German work, by one JOHAN DANIEL BUTUA, intituled—"A true account and description of the Cape of Good Hope," &c., we find the following notice of Natal;—

Speaking of an Expedition of some colonists, who had been authorised by the Cape Government to trade with the natives in 1684, and who were the first to discover the Kafir people, he says—

" From the Gous (Cawers, *vel* Gauritz) River, they went through the Autinequa country, from thence to the Attaequas Land, and to the country of the Heykams, in which kingdom a white man had never before been seen, except some years before when some place, called *Terra de Natal, 500 Mylen*" (i.e. 1,500 English miles) "from the Cape of Good Hope, a wreck took place. Those of the sufferers who were furnished with fire arms, and would not surrender them, were sacrificed, those who laid them down received quarter, and were conducted by the natives with all the horrors of their heathenish customs. They were well fed, but they had nothing to cover their heads ; they were almost naked, and only covered their shame with sheep-skins. Some of them died, unable to bear the diet and exposure. Two, however, reached the Cape, who were mariners on board the wrecked vessel. They were four years on the road before they reached the Cape.

" This same Natal is said to be a fertile country, and every thing will grow there the same as in Europe.

" The East India Company would have taken possession of this fertile land years past, but seeing at the mouth of the port a reef or a sand-bank, that no Galiot without touching could get over without danger, so that a small vessel could not safely go in there."

In another manuscript of a similar date, in the same collection, called " A short account of the Terra de Natal, its harbor is thus described :—

" The River of Natal falls into the Indian Ocean in 30° South Latitude. Its mouth is wide, and deep enough for small craft, (*barquin*) but at which is a Sand-bank, which at highest flood has not more than 10 or 12 feet water,—within this bank the water is deep. This river is the principal one on the coast of Natal, and has been frequently visited by Merchant vessels."

A.D. 1686.

In this year the wreck of the ‘*Stavenisse*’ a Dutch Vessel, took place, an event which led to the purchase of the Natal country by the Dutch East India Company, and on which purchase, the present right of the English, to that territory, as representatives of the Dutch Government, by conquest and cession, is *imagined* to be founded.

The following extract is from a most interesting work in course of publication in the Colony—“*THE RECORDS, or a series of Official Papers relative to the condition and treatment of the Native Tribes of South Africa, compiled, translated, and edited by D. MOODIE, Esq., LIEUT. R. N.*,” which shews, from a series of uninterrupted and authentic documents, running through a period of nearly two centuries, preserved in the Archives of the Cape Colony, the *practical* results upon the aborigines of the migration of Europeans into barbarous regions.

Extracts of Declaration of W. Knyff, in Castle of Good Hope,
24th March, 1687.

I, the undersigned, Willem Knyff, master of the wrecked ship *Stavenisse*, was sleeping in the cabin at the seventh glass of the middle watch, on the 16th February, 1686, having kept the first watch, and was suddenly awakened by the cabin boy. I asked why he so run in? he replied, that we were on shore; and that he had once asked the mate to get up the cable; upon which, jumping upon the deck followed by the purser, I found we were close to the breakers, and that the chief mate and boatswain were busy hauling up the cable, in order to bend it to the anchor; the other two officers standing the while on the half-deck; it was dead calm and darkish weather, and after they had hastily prepared both anchors, they were successively dropped by my orders. The ship swung to the best bower, and lay in the surf, which broke over the bows, and as far as the waist; having lain thus about two or three glasses, a fine little off-shore breeze sprung up, when the chief mate proposed to weigh the small bower—for being nearly up and down it was of no use—and to make sail. The foretopsail was loosed, but the anchor was scarcely up before it again fell calm. After lying thus awhile the best bower at last parted, when we again dropped the small bower, but it would not hold, so that the after part of the ship struck the rocks, and the ship being now stove and full of

water I took to water and swam to land. The boat was put out when the ship struck ; the purser, the surgeon's assistant, and 11 or 12 sailors, endeavoured to save themselves, but were at last upset in the surf, so that most of them were drowned.

From the wood and sails which drove on shore, a tent was erected for shelter on the beach.

Meanwhile I asked the people if they were disposed to remain on the beach, in order, as far as possible, to save the Company's property ? on which with one voice they replied,—that they saw no chance of being able to do so, as the cargo was mostly knocked to pieces on the rocks, or driven to sea ; and, finding this to be the case, I determined at their request, to set out with them, overland, for the Cape of Good Hope.

Setting out thus on the 19th, and having gone about three *mylen*, I found that from weakness I could not accompany them, so I returned back alone to the beach, where we had left the surgeon sick, and the gunner, Theunis Jansen, together with Jan Jasper, boatswain's mate, both wounded in the tent.

Two days after this, the boatswain, his mate, the sail-maker and three sailors came back to us, and were soon followed by all the three mates ; the chief mate having tried to persuade Jan de Groete, the junior mate, to go overland to the Cape of Good Hope, with the remaining 47, which he undertook to do ; but before proceeding far he also left the Cape party, and following the mates, his companions, reached us on the beach at the same time with them.

We then set about repairing our broken boat, in order to seek our way to the Cape of Good Hope by sea, and having accomplished this in about 14 days, more or less, and having loaded her with our provisions, consisting of a half anker of bread, about 25 lbs. of salt pork, and half a *legger* of fresh water, seven of us pushed off, the others remaining from choice, excepting the junior mate, who, in shoving off the boat, accidentally missed the opportunity of jumping in, and not being able to get over the surf, the boat being nearly full of water, we pushed back to the shore ; there we lost our compass, quadrant, provisions, and baggage.

Being now destitute of everything, and the boat being broken in pieces, we consulted how we could best support ourselves from starvation. The natives, indeed, offered us bread and cattle for sale, but we had nothing wherewith to purchase the one or the other. Nothing is esteemed there but beads and copper rings for the neck or arms. For nails, bolts, and other iron work of the wreck, we indeed got some bread and corn ; but as the natives set to work themselves, and by chopping and burning fully supplied themselves with iron, we not being at first aware, that it was so much regarded, nor daring to prevent them for fear of provoking them, as they had sometimes fully 1,000 armed men,—they had everything in abundance, while we suffered from want.

In this deplorable condition they resolved on the arduous undertaking of building a vessel out of the materials of the wreck, and of such as could be obtained of native growth. This vessel is thus described and its departure recorded :—

Their vessel being at last completed, to the length of 50 feet, and about 14 feet broad, and two masts having been rigged, they shipped some provisions of ground meal, and two or three tons of corn, 200 or 300 fowls, about 1,000 lbs. salted and smoked beef, with 20 goats, 150 pumpkins, 17 half *leggers* (of which 11 were made there) of water, and all purchased for the copper and beads of the English, which also sufficed to pay the natives for their labour.

They sailed on the 17th February without chart or compass, after they had resided a year and a day at Natal, and left there four Englishmen and one Frenchman, who thought it better and more advantageous to them to remain there, than trust themselves to the uncertain waves of the sea and of fortune.

On the 18th April (1687) following, the Council at the Cape record the safe arrival of these bold adventurers. It sets forth :—

The Captain of that vessel, William Knyff, landed here in a very miserable condition on the 1st March, from Terra de Natal, in a small vessel built there by himself, three of his officers, seven of his crew ; and nine shipwrecked Englishmen.... They agree in describing the natives [of that country] as very obliging, kind and hospitable, and state that some Englishmen who could speak the language had been prompted by curiosity to travel 50 *mylen* inland, where they found people who very readily presented them with meat, bread, beer, fruit, vegetables, and lodging ; they found metallic ores among those natives, and the art of melting them ; not indeed gold or silver, though the English say that a certain Chief named Ingoose wore a bracelet which was much heavier than the copper neck rings, from which circumstance they conjectured it to be gold.

* * * * *

Having found that the vessel was about 25 tons burden, well built and sailed well, we bought her of the English for £ 400, for after we had put a few knees, &c., into her, she will last as many years. We bought also the residue of their meat for three stivers per pound, and the corn at six guilders per muid.

A few months afterwards, viz.: in November, the company resolved to send this little vessel back, on a voyage in search of the seamen still missing. The official despatch thus gives the result of this voyage :—

We did not long detain in inactivity the little vessel called the *Centaur*, in which the crew of the *Stavenisse* came hither last year, but dispatched her with 19 men on the 10th of November, to seek for the residue of that crew, and to examine more minutely the country of Natal. The winds and currents prevented them from reaching that place, being frequently driven, to their general astonishment, but evidently by the hand of Providence, to one and the same spot, between Punta Primera and the Bay De la Goa ; where, at length, upon the 8th February, they saw approaching them in the open sea, fully two *mylen* from the land, entirely naked, and seated upon three little beams fastened together, with a sort of paddle in their hands, two sailors of the wrecked *Stavenisse*, who being asked about their shipmates, stated that full twenty of them were scattered about in the neighboring kraals. It was then resolved, as the weather was more favorable than it had been for the last twelve months, to send some one on the raft, with a few little presents to the chief of the country, to convey a request that he would allow the people to embark. To this the chief instantly consented, when nineteen, including a French boy, were collected, and, with great difficulty, embarked. Three of their shipmates were not inclined to accompany them, and three others had, not long before, set out for the wreck of the *Stavenisse*, and were already too far off to convey to them any intimation of the arrival of the *Centaur*, for the vessel could lie no longer upon a lee shore, and indeed they had scarcely embarked the two last men when a change of the weather made it high time to raise their anchor and to secure a good offing, and they were afterwards compelled to return to the Cape, where, although the men of the *Stavenisse* were naked, they arrived all well on the 9th February.

They informed us that, with the exception of the six above-mentioned, the rest of the crew had been either murdered by the natives, devoured by beast of prey, or had perished of hunger and fatigue, such at least were their conjectures, for although they were acquainted with the country and the language they had been unable to learn any thing certain of the fate of their companions during all the time of their abode in that country.

The accounts which were brought to the Cape by these people of the amazing fertility and strange productions of Natal, seem to have excited the curiosity as well as the cupidity of the Council, and hence they resolved to send another vessel, the *Noord*, to make further discoveries at Natal, and along the coast to the east. The despatch of the Council, dated April 15, 1689, states :—

The commander being meantime disinclined to keep the galliot, the *Noord*, unemployed, sent her on the 19th October, well manned

and supplied, with full instructions to proceed direct to Rio de la Goa, between the 25th and 26th parallel of latitude ; to sound and survey it . . . and to form a minute description of all the advantages offered to the company by the intervening country, either on the coast or in the interior, the character of the people, their merchandize, their animals, whether tame or wild, fruits, vegetables, minerals, and other riches ; and also to recover the men still missing of the crew of the *Stavenisse*.

This vessel having reached De la Goa on the 29th December, and having

Fully completed their survey and examination, proceeded to examine the coast and bay of Natal, where they anchored on the 5th of January of this year, and found there Adrian Jans, Boat-swain, and Jan Pieters, a boy, both of the wrecked ship *Stavenisse*. Having surveyed that bay, they sailed on the 23rd, and on the 28th anchored abreast of the country of the Magoses, in the latitude 33° 42'. where Isak Jans, formerly a sailor in the *Stavenisse* swam on board through the surf at the peril of his life, while his companion, from want of courage, remained on the beach.

These persons gave much information respecting the Natal country and the inhabitants, which at this time a-day it is not a little amusing to peruse. They state, among other marvels :—

One may travel 200 or 300 *mylen* through the country, without any cause of fear from men, provided you go naked (*blood*), and without any iron or copper, for these things give inducement to the murder of those who have them. Neither need one be in any apprehension about meat and drink, as they have in every village or kraal, a house of entertainment for travellers, where these are not only lodged, but fed also : care must only be taken, towards night-fall, when one cannot get any further, to put up there, and not to go on before morning. In an extent of 150 *mylen* travelled by your servants along the coast, to the depth of about 30 *mylen* inland, and through the five kingdoms, namely, the *Magoses*, *Makriggas*, the *Matimbas*, *Mapontes*, and *Emboas*, they found no standing waters, but many rivers with plenty of fish and full of sea cows. There are many dense forests, with short stemmed trees ; but at the bay of Natal are two forests, each fully a *myl* square, with tall, straight, and thick trees, fit for house or ship-timber, in which is abundance of honey and wax ; but no wax is to be had from the natives, as they eat the wax as well as the honey. In all the time of their stay in that country, or of travelling through it, they found but one European, an old Portuguese, in the country of the

Mapontes ; he had been shipwrecked there about 40 years before, while returning from India. The wreck, built of teak, is still to be seen on the shore, and, as the Africans state, several brass and iron cannon are still to be found there. This Portuguese had been circumcised, and had a wife, children, cattle and land, he spoke only the African language, having forgotten everything—his GOD included. They cultivate three sorts of corn, as also calabashes, pumpkins, watermelons and beans, much resembling the European brown beans ; they sow annually a kind of earth-nut, and a kind of under-ground bean, both very nourishing, and bearing a small leaf. Tobacco grows there wild, and if they knew how to manage it, would, in all probability, be equal to the Virginian.

The true European fig grows wild, also a kind of grapes, which are a little sour (*rhyns*) though well tasted, they are best boiled. They have also a kind of tree fruit, not unlike the fatherland medlar, and not unpleasant to eat ; wild pruins grow abundantly on the shore, and are well tasted. There are also wild cherries (*strand karsau*) with long stalks, and very sour. Finally, they have a kind of apple, not unpleasant eating, but which are not ripe until they fall from the tree ; before they fall, they are nauseous (*walgingh*) and cause flatulency. The country swarms with cows, calves, oxen, steers and goats—there are few sheep, but no want of elephants, rhinoceroses, lions, tigers, leopards, elands, and harts, as well of the Cape kind, as the Fatherland, with branched (*getrackte*) horns : rheboks of various kinds, wild hogs, dogs, buffaloes, sea cows, crocodiles and horses. The latter they do not catch or tame, although they approach within 10 or 12 paces ; they are finely formed, and quite black, with long manes and tails, incredibly swift, and of great strength ; some have the tail black, and others white. They also say that they saw two animals feeding together in the wilderness, in size and color like the elephant ; having a head like the horse, a short tail, but long neck, very tame, and totally unknown in Europe [giraffe ?].

There are many kind of snakes, scorpions, large and small, also centipedos, toads, and frogs, ostriches, geese, ducks, pigeons, red and brown partridges, abundance of pheasants and *pauws*, with a shining top knot (*huyf*) and tail [Balearic crane?] In the rivers are eels and congers, and, in the bay of Natal, king's fish and sun fish, besides all kinds of fish, known in India and here, as may be further seen from the annexed account taken down from the mouths [of our men].

In a subsequent despatch, the council thus state, specifically the objects of the voyage :—

It was unanimously resolved to send the galiot *Noord* to the Bay of Natal to fetch the remaining people of the *Stavenisse*, and to

endeavor to purchase on the Company's aecount, under a formal and duly executed written contract with the chief of that country, the said bay, and some of the land around it, for merchandize, such as beads, copper, ironwork and such other articles as are liked by them and that the galiot shall then return hither along the coast, and with all possible care sound and survey the bay of De la Goa, [Algoa] to see whether it may not be suitable for the Company's homeward bound fleets and to use the same precautions, in the saving the crew of the *Stavenisse* and purchasing that bay and the adjoining land (*aaneleven*) from its chief or inhabitants which have been ordered with regard to Natal.

The instructions actually given to the officers of the *Galiot* were :—

Watching a fitting opportunity (*wel tij gekaveld hebbende*) you will enter into a negotiation with the Chief, so called Ingose, solemnly to purchase from him, for the Honourable Company, for beads, copper, ironmongery, and such other articles as they have a liking for, the bay of Natal and the adjoining land, and you will have a deed of conveyance *in communi et solemnni ferma*, written by *Laurens van Swaaswyek*, passed before commissioned members of the ships council, and signed by the said Ingose and some of his nearest relatives, taking good care that the articles of merchandize for which the bay and adjoining land are purchased, are not noticed in the deed, except in general terms, and that the amount of the same be estimated at nineteen or twenty thousand guilders (*tot op negentien of twentigh duysend guldens.*)

Having effected this, you will run down the coast, and endeavour to make the Bay De la Goa lying from 33° to 34° south latitude, and to ascertain whether, as stated by the Portuguese and laid down in their charts, there is a round sand-bank in the entrance ; you will carefully sound that bay, and have a chart of it drawn by the quartermaster Cornelis Heremans.

The result of this negotiation is thus given :—

On the 4th December (the Noord) arrived before the bay of Natal which she safely entered on the following day, and after embarking the residue of the crew of the *Stavenisse* and solemnly purchasing that bay, with some surrounding land, from the king and chiefs of those ports, for some merchandize, consisting of copper, arm and neck rings, and other articles, upon behalf of the honorable Company whose marks were set up in various places (*der selver wapen in verseheide plaatsen opgereg*) and proper attention having been paid to everything, they sailed on the 11th Jan. following and four days after, put into the so called Bay De la Goa (Algoa). without anchoring, however, but keeping under sail ; it was no bay

but only a bight, quite open to the sea, having three or four visible rocks in the middle, and fully as many in its entrance.

This vessel was unfortunately soon afterwards wrecked not far from De la Goa (Algoa) Bay. The particulars of this catastrophe are thus narrated :—

Having on the day following the 16th, towards the afternoon, left the bight, De la Goa, with a stiff topsail breeze from the eastward, steered W. by South, and in the evening, in order to keep clear of all danger, W.S.W. after running, according to their reckoning, 14 *mylen* from the west point of De la Goa, in the 3d glass of the first watch, or between nine and ten o'clock at night, the wind as before.....they run almost high and dry, on a rocky reef (*Rcceiffe*) extending about $\frac{1}{2}$ *myl* from the main lane, although the mate, C. Hermans, who had charge of the watch knew the coast and was the person who had made a chart of it.

The galiot being instantly bilged by the high surf, and the hold being full of water, they managed, an hour after, when the tide was out, to save themselves by getting, dry footed, along the rocks to the shore. The next day they returned to the wreck, out of which they took some arms, ammunition, and provisions, and three days after blew her up.

They staid together, on the beach, until the 23d of Jannary, searching about in vain in every direction for inhabitants and for food, and then determined, before the food was quite exhausted, to set out for the Cape.

They were in all 18 men, and after travelling in company for some days without a meeting a single man, they divided into two, and finally into three parties ; and at length, on the 27th of March four of them arrived here in a miserable condition, having been stripped and ill-treated by the *Cauwers Hottentots*, who live by plunder.

Every exertion has already been made for the rescue of the remaining persons of the crew, and no pains shall be spared to procure information about them, and to bring them hither. It is very surprising that nothing whatever can be heard of them in a country so close to the Cape, through which we have frequently travelled.

Thus ended this unfortunate expedition ; and upon which in a note the Coucile thus remark :

The galiot appears to have been shamefully thrown away ; had the lead been used, and other precautions been adopted, the loss would, no doubt, have been avoided. The Fiscal would have had his action on the subject, had not the master and the mate and the men saved had such a miserable journey, and had not so many of them so unfortunately lost their lives.

A.D. 1705.

The permanent purchase thus supposed to have been effected, it seems was *denied* by the successor of the chief who alienated his patrimonial possessions.

John Maxwell in his account of the Cape of Good Hope in 1706, (published in London, in 1715), says,—

"At the Cape, I met with one Joanis Gerbrantzer, master of a Dutch ship, who 1690 was in Terra di Natal, distant from the Cape about 800 miles, where he said he bought the place for the Dutch East India Company for 20,000 florins. Coasting thence to the Cape, his ship was cast away, but they all got safe ashore, who, 18 in number, set out by land for the Cape, distant about 200 miles, where only four arrived, all the rest dying of hunger, thirst, or heat, except two or three who were killed by the Hottentots. They saw no wild beasts except elephants. In 1705, *Gerbrantzer went again to Natal, the late king's son then reigning, to whom he spoke of the former agreement with his father.* 'My father,' answers he, 'is dead; his skins (i. e. his clothes) are buried with him in the floor of his house, which is burned over him; and the place is fenced in, over which none now must pass; and as to what he agreed to, it was for himself, I have nothing to say to it.'

So Gerbrantzer urged it no further, having no orders concerning it from the Company."

Upon the general question of the sale of lands, by savages to European adventurers, the following pertinent remarks by Hugh Murray in his "Historical Account of Discoveries and Travels in Africa," by the late Dr. Leyden, are worthy of attention. He observes, speaking of similar transactions at Sierra Leone :—

"Much more formidable obstacles presented themselves, in prevailing upon the native chiefs to *ratify* the surrender of territory which had been formerly occupied. The only property, with which the savage is acquainted, consists of the fruits of the earth, his ornaments, arms, and instruments of hunting and fishing. He changes his habitation according to convenience, and never thinks of buying or selling the earth upon which he roams at large. His own possession of territory is temporary; he cannot, therefore, believe that any cession is perpetual. He admits a colony, because he imagines it consists of his friends, or because the colonists have purchased his friendship; but as soon as he changes his opinion, or withdraws his friendship, he thinks himself completely justified in resuming that right which he abandoned without reflection."—Vol. 2, p. 260.

A.D. 1719.

Natal about this time seems to have been commonly resort-ed to for the purpose of purchasing slaves, and several Eng-lish vessels, some of extraordinary small tonnage, visited the coast for that nefarious purpose.

One Robert Drury, who published his adventures about this time, says :—

“ *Here we traded for slaves, with large brass rings, or rather collars, and several other commodities. In a fortnight we purchased 74 boys and girls,* ” &c.

On the 23rd of December, of this year, orders were ad-dressed from Holland to the Cape Government to establish factories, both at De la Goa and Natal Bays, which were car-ried into effect in 1721, but on the 19th of April, 1729, direc-tions were sent out to *abandon* the latter-named place, *and it no where appears that any subsequent attempt was ever made, either to claim, re-occupy, or recognize the territory in ques-tion, on the part of the Dutch*, as a dependency.

In the interval, between these years, several interesting journies were made overland from De la Goa to Natal, and from thence to the Cape Colony, especially one by Lieut. Monas, the Commandant of De la Goa, in 1727.

A complete history of occurrences at both these settlements is to be found in the Archives of the Colonial Office at Cape Town, under the following dates :—

| | | | |
|----------------|------|-----------------|-------|
| 23d December, | 1719 | 18th December, | 1725, |
| 5th July, | 1721 | 12th January, | 1726, |
| 21st ” | ” | 3d July | ” |
| 11th October, | ” | 17th September, | ” |
| 9th November | ” | 26th December, | ” |
| 6th March, | 1722 | 31st ” | ” |
| 15th December, | ” | 27th August, | 1727, |
| 15th June, | 1723 | 18th October, | ” |
| 26th January, | 1724 | 27th ” | ” |
| 21st August, | ” | 19th January, | 1728, |
| 22d ” | ” | 31st ” | ” |
| 13th December. | ” | 11th August, | ” |

| | | | |
|----------------|------|---------------|-------|
| 17th January, | 1725 | 12th January, | 1729, |
| 29th March, | „ | 14th April, | „ |
| 13th „ | „ | 15th „ | „ |
| 9th July, | „ | 22d October | „ |
| 10th „ | „ | 2d May, | 1731, |
| 26th September | „ | 19th „ | „ |

IN 1755

The Doddington, an English East India Ship, was wrecked on one of the Bird Islands, situated near Cape Padron, in Algoa Bay, and after a seven months residence on that rocky spot, the survivors, having built a small vessel, called the "Happy Deliverance," made their escape on the 16th February, 1756. On the 15th of March they safely anchored the little craft in one of the Rivers of the Natal coast, in two and a half fathom; and on the 6th of April following they also put into the River St. Lucia, the Omvalozie of the Zoolahs. The particulars of their voyage—their intercourse with the natives—and the appearance of the country—may be seen in Bannister, Appendix I—p. xxxiii.

From this period up to 1806, several wrecks took place upon the coast.

A.D. 1782.

Amongst these melancholy events was that of the *Grosvenor* Indiaman, in 1782, but no attempts were made to settle, although the descendants, both of Europeans and Lasears, who escaped from those frightful catastrophes, are still distinctly traceable among the inhabitants up to the present day.

A.D. 1806.

The Cape Colony fell into the hands of the British government by its conquest in 1806, upon which the then Colonial Governor *surrendered* "the whole of the settlement of the Cape of Good Hope with all its dependencies, and all the rights and privileges held and exercised by the Batavian Government."* What was meant at the time by the term "depen-

* Article 1st of capitulation proposed to and accepted by Lieut. General Jansens, 18th January, 1806.

dencies"—for except Natal and De la Goa—the Colony never held anything approaching to such a designation—does not appear, and whether the expression was a mere technicality, common to all such documents, and used, of course,—or whether it included those old and temporary settlements, relinquished seventy years before, is a point over which much ink and perhaps *some gunpowder* may yet be expended.

A.D. 1815.

Whatever the rights conveyed by the capitulation of 1806 were, they were fully and finally confirmed in 1815, at the TREATY OF PARIS, when the Cape Colony was for ever ceded to Great Britain, but still without any description of, or *expressed* reference to the "dependencies," in question.

A.D. 1823.

In the latter part of the year 1823, Lieut. Farewell, of the Royal Navy, and Mr. Alexander Thomson, a merchant of Cape Town, impressed with an idea that a lucrative traffic might be successfully carried on along the Eastern Coast of Africa, accompanied Lieut. King, R.N., of the *Salisbury*, on a voyage to the East coast. Having arrived in the neighbourhood where they intended to commence operations, they attempted several parts, when it appeared impossible to land. The boats were then sent on shore at St. Lucia, on the coast of Fumos ; but Mr. Farewell's upset, and he, although considerably bruised, miraculously escaped being drowned. Several days after, Mr. Thomson met with a similar accident, his boat being overwhelmed when nearly a mile from the beach ; they all gained the shore by swimming, except three poor fellows who perished in the attempt. The party now determined on abandoning this place, their views being directed to another quarter : several weeks having elapsed, they ran into PORT NATAL, but the voyage proving altogether unsuccessful, they returned to the Cape of Good Hope. The *Salisbury* and *Julia*, its tender, were the first vessels that entered that port during the life-time of the oldest inhabitants.

A.D. 1824.

In the following year Lieut. Farewell induced a party of about twenty five persons to join him from the Cape, having conceived the idea that an establishment at Natal would supersede the commerce of the Portuguese at De la Goa Bay, and the neighboring settlements, and attract it towards his own little colony. Lieut. King, at this time, joined the intrepid adventurer, and in order to procure supplies and excite an interest in their embryo settlement, proceeded to England for the purpose. Anxious to promote the welfare of his promising settlement, Farewell now endeavored also to procure the patronage and recognition of the new colony by the Government, and he addressed the then Governor of the Cape, Lord Charles Somerset, explaining his views and prospects in the following communication.—

“Cape Town, May 1, 1824.

“MY LORD,

“In consequence of your Lordship’s wish, that I should communicate in writing my plans, relative to the speculation I am at present undertaking to the south-east coast of Africa, I beg leave to submit the following remarks for your perusal.

“Having felt convinced, that a trade might be established with the natives on the coast, between the Cape Frontier and Delagoa Bay, I last year went to a considerable expense in trying to form an intercourse, as well as to ascertain the capabilities of the coun’ry; but in consequence of its being a dangerous coast, and of our losing four men, drowned in attempting to land, as well as of want of provisions, after a few month’s absence, we were obliged to return, without accomplishing our object; and, by chartering two vessels for the occasion, we sustained a very considerable loss.

“Towards the conclusion of my last voyage, we found a port, where a small vessel can lie perfectly secure; and I am therefore induced to venture another trial, hoping, that by making, some stay there, we may get the natives to bring their produce to exchange for our goods; which, in time, might lead to important advantages. My intentions are to keep a vessel constantly lying in port; and to have a small party on shore to communicate with the natives, and carry on the trade.

“The natives have already requested that we would come and traffic with them; and, probably, by a constant intercourse, we shall eventually lead to a commerce of importance to the colony, and advantageous to ourselves.

"For the purposes I have mentioned, it is necessary that we should take a larger proportion of people than are required to navigate the vessel; and, consequently, we have about twenty-five persons, including principals and servants, besides her crew.

"I hope your Lordship will conceive that our present undertaking is entitled to every encouragement, being one of much hazard; and, if successful, likely to lead to important advantages to the colony in furnishing articles of export, as well as new sources of trade; and tending to civilize many populous nations hitherto unknown to Europeans. I am therefore convinced, that in case of our having to solicit you Lordship's aid on any future occasion to forward these views, we shall meet with that patronage and assistance, which your disposition to promote enterprizes beneficial to the colony will prompt.

" (Signed) F. G. FAREWELL.

" To His Excellency the Governor."

Reply to the last Letter.

" Colonial Office, May 5, 1824.

" SIR,

"I am directed by his Excellency the Governor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 1st instant, and to acquaint you that his Excellency acquiesces in your taking the persons with you to the south-east coast of Africa, whom you state to be necessary to prosecute your commercial undertaking there.

"His Excellency will hear with great satisfaction, that your endeavours to establish a commercial intercourse, and to lay the ground for civilizing the inhabitants of that part of South Africa have been successful; but his Excellency begs that you will clearly understand, that all your intercourse with the natives must be conducted in a conciliatory manner, and upon fair terms of barter; and that he *cannot sanction the acquisition of any territorial possession without a full communication being made to him of the circumstances under which they may be offered, and be intended to be received.*

" (Signed) P. G. BRINK.

" To Mr. Farewell."

Letter from Mr. Farewell to the Governor of the Cape.

" Port Natal, September, 1824.

" MY LORD,

"In consequence of your Lordship's kind wishes for the success of my undertaking to Natal, I beg leave to intrude on your Lordship a sketch of my proceedings since arriving here.

"I communicated with Chaka, king of the Zulus, to whom belongs the whole of the country from Natal to Delagoa Bay,

extending inland, according to their account, some hundreds of miles. After some difficulty, I obtained permission to visit him, and proceeded with a small party above one hundred and fifty miles N.N.E. from Port Natal to his residence ; and had the pleasure of being the first European ever there. The king received us, surrounded by a large number of his chiefs, and above 8 or 9000 armed men, observing a state and ceremony in our introduction that we little expected. His subjects, over whom he has the most despotic authority, appeared to treat him with such submission and respect as to rank him far above any chief, I believe at present known in South Africa ; whilst the nations he governs are, in manners, customs, and mode of ornamenting themselves so different from any hitherto known as at once to astonish and please us.

" I had an opportunity of holding frequent interviews with the king, who seemed particularly pleased at hearing my intention in coming to Natal was to remain there, making me a sale and grant of part of his country in that neighbourhood, of which I beg leave to forward your Lordship a copy through my agent, Mr. J. R. Thomson. He at the same time gave us a number of cattle for our support. He likewise expressed a wish to send two of his chiefs to the Cape, for the purpose of being better acquainted with the English nation, which I have to request your Lordship's permission for doing. We had an opportunity of further gaining his friendship, by curing him of a dangerous wound he received since we have been here ; and I trust I shall, by frequent communications, and a studious endeavour to avoid giving offence, increase his and his subjects' confidence in us.

" The territory he has made over is nearly depopulated, not containing more than three or four hundred souls, who appear much pleased at the manner of its disposal, of which they have been informed by Chaka. The climate seems perfectly healthy, with a good soil fit for any purposes, and well wooded and watered, four rivers of magnitude running through it into the sea ; which, from their depth and width, seem to derive their sources from a considerable distance inland, and to afford the means of communicating there by water. The portion granted me affords every prospect of being a most desirable one for settlers, of whom a few families could protect themselves if necessary ; and support could be derived for any number, the rivers abounding in fish, and cattle being to be had at a very moderate rate.

" I beg leave, therefore, to suggest to your Lordship, that many of that class at the Cape, particularly agriculturists, who appear to be living in great distress, would here find a comfortable asylum, and the means of much benefiting themselves and families, as well as the English nation, by forming a colony on a spot so well adapted for civilising, and establishing a trade with the interior of South Africa ;

which amongst other benefits to be expected from it, will eventually occasion a large consumption of English staple manufactures. It possesses a port, the only one on the coast, where vessels drawing nine feet water can at all times enter, and be as secure as in a wet dock ; whilst those of a greater draught are protected from a westerly wind by a point that projects out some distance, forming a bay, in which there is good anchorage outside the bar. The distance from the Cowie is so small, that a vessel after discharging her cargo there, at a very trifling expense would land passengers at Natal.

" I took possession of the country, made over according to the tenor of the document forwarded to your Lordship, on the 27th of August, and hoisted the English colours, and fired a salute in presence of a number of Chaka's chiefs ; which proceeding, I trust, will meet with your Lordship's approbation and sanction, as well as those of the English government.

" Your Lordship is already informed, that commercial pursuits, and a wish to obtain a knowledge of this country, were my objects in coming here ; and the benefit to be derived from my present grant of land, with the power of keeping the little trade that at present exists, in my own hands, I look to as the means of reimbursing the great expences I have been at. I trust your Lordship will see the propriety of my being invested with some authority over persons residing here ; as without it, it will be impossible to prevent irregularities and disturbances amongst themselves as well as the natives ; which would not fail to be attended with fatal consequences.

" (Signed)

F. G. FAREWELL.

" To His Excellency the Governor."

A.D. 1824

Farewell's party of settlers finding the country about Natal in every direction completely depopulated, and the Zoola sovereign CHAKA, so absorbed in his warlike and predatory expeditions, and abandoned to a thirst of universal conquest as to be careless of trade, soon became disappointed, and a schism took place between them, which ended in their separation, and the abandonment of the place by all but Farewell. Expecting to be able to convince Chaka of the advantages of commerce, and to establish a trade with the western tribes, he dispatched several missions in that direction, but the quarrels in which he had been engaged with his associates had a very serious influence on his enterprise, especially with Chaka,

whose shrewdness enabled him to take advantage of the absurd but very natural differences among the European party, which being composed of heterogenous materials and impatient of all control, carried with it the seed of its own dissolution.

The history of the tribes found by Farewell and his party in possession of the country of and around Natal, derived from Mr. H. Fynn, has been thus given by Major Charters, and can be depended upon :—

In the year 1780 a chief of the name of Tingeswio ruled over the Umtetwa tribe, and inhabited the country to the eastward of the Toghela River. He is represented as intelligent, warlike, and enlightened, far beyond what might have been expected from a barbarian. He opened a trade with the Portuguese, bartering ivory and oxen for beads and brass. He divided his army into regiments according to the color of their shields ; and he subjugated all the neighboring tribes, and amongst these the Zulus, then under the chieftainship of Senzengakona, and not exceeding 2000 people. One of the women belonging to the last-mentioned chief gave birth to a son, named Chaka, who, as he grew up, shewed himself possessed of such energy of character and such warlike qualities, that Tingeswio took him under his protection, instructed him in the art of war, and gave him a command in his army. On the death of Senzengakona, Umfugas, the legal heir, succeeded to his authority ; but his reign was brief, for he was soon assassinated by Chaka, who, not having sufficient scope for his ambition in the command of a small tribe, found means to alienate the army from their allegiance to his benefactor, Tingeswio, whom he attacked, made prisoner, and put to death. Chaka then possessed himself of supreme authority over all the tribes which had owed allegiance to Tingeswio, and united them into one nation, under the name of Zulus. As soon as the chief found himself firmly seated in his authority ; he bestowed his whole care in disciplining his army ; he substituted the short, stabbing assegai for the long missile weapon used by the other Kafirs, by which means he entirely changed the mode of warfare, causing his men to close immediately with their foes, and fight them hand to hand.

He carried his victorious arms west as far as St. John's River, and east to De la Goa Bay, putting to death all whom he could overtake, and driving the fugitives to seek for refuge, and food in distant lands, leaving the countries which he passed over a solitude and waste. Chaka may be termed the South African Attila : and it is estimated that not less than 1,000,000 human beings were destroyed by him.

A.D. 1825.

The character of the Chief of the Zoolahs, (or Zulus) and the extent of his conquests, has also been described by Farewell himself :—

“ History perhaps does not furnish an instance of a more despotic and cruel monster than Chaka. His subjects fall at his word ; he is acknowledged to be the most powerful ruler for many hundred miles. He came to the throne after the death of his father ; his elder brother should have succeeded him, but through some treachery on his part he got him put to death, and it therefore devolved upon Chaka. He has reigned about eight years, during which time he has conquered and laid waste the whole country between the Amapondos, nearly 200 miles S.W. of Natal, and the southern and most western parts of Delagoa. He has under him many tributary kings, and the only powerful enemy he has now to contend with is Esconyana, whose territories lie N.W. of the Mapoota ; he has gathered all his forces, with an intention of destroying Chaka. Several attempts have been made, but have always been repulsed. The Zulus are now preparing for an advance upon them, and but little doubt is entertained that they will succeed, although the enemy exceeds them by many thousands. Chaka’s strict discipline and method of attack is such that nothing in their warfare can possibly withstand the attack of the Zulus. His warriors in their war-dress are similar to his own ; he differs only in his feather, and they are distinguished in the different divisions by colored shields ; they charge with a single *umconto*, or spear, and each man must return with it from the field, or bring that of his enemy, otherwise he is sure to be put to death.”

While Farewell was making these efforts to establish himself at Natal, Capt. King completed his voyage to England, laid before the Admiralty his plan of the harbor, and on his return, rejoined his old companion. In doing this he lost his vessel, the *Mary*, at the entrance of the port, and after combating every kind of privation, inseparable to the situation of a voluntary exile beyond the pale of civilization, he sunk under the ravages of disappointment, fatigue, and want of proper nourishment in 1828. The grave of this gallant officer is still to be seen on the southern point of the bay.

A.D. 1826.

Out of wreck of the *Mary* the colonists of Natal construct-

ed a small vessel, which they named "*The Chaka*," in honor of the monster reigning at Natal. This vessel succeeded in reaching Algoa Bay, but was seized and refused a Register, after every exertion being made, on the ground that she was *built in a FOREIGN PORT*—thus at once repudiating the claim over that place as a *dependency* of the Cape,—a view which has been steadily kept up by the home government all along, and by the Colonial authorities, to within a few weeks of the present time. The Custom's Officers have always levied the *foreign* duty of 10 per cent. upon produce from Natal, and it is only now admitted at the British rate by a recent order of the governor's.

A.D. 1828.

Chaka at this time became anxious to open a political connexion with the Cape and the English Governments, and for this purpose dispatched, along with Lieut. King, two ambassadors, to represent his wants and express his desire of friendship, one of whom was commissioned to proceed to the King of England. From causes, over which much uncertainty prevails, these people were not allowed to proceed beyond Port Elizabeth, in Algoa Bay—a place at that time, from its infant state, and the absence of all military pomp and parade, not at all calculated to inspire the savage envoys with that opinion of our power with which it could have been advisable to impress them. They were soon shipped on board the *Helicon* to their native shores, indignant at their discourteous treatment, and harboring feelings of no great good will to the Colony or its Representative, who had brought them down, and to whom Chaka had granted previous to his sailing the territory of Natal:—but why and in what way Farewell's previous grant had been vitiated or recalled does not appear. King's grant is dated February 1828, and its authenticity sworn before a Colonial magistrate in July 1828. The following is a copy of the document:—

At Chaka's principal Residence, Uimbololi,
February, 1828.

I, Chaka, King of the Zulus, do, in presence of my principal Chiefs now assembled, hereby appoint and direct my friend, James Saunders King, whom I now create Chief of the "Tugooosa Kraal," to take under his charge and protection, "Sotoby," one of my principal Chiefs—"Karchey," my body servant—"Jacob," my interpreter and suite: I desire him to convey them to His Majesty, King George's Dominions, to represent that I send them on a friendly mission to King George, and, after offering him assurances of my friendship and esteem, to negotiate with His Britannic Majesty on my behalf, with my Chief "Sotoby," a treaty of friendly alliance between the two nations, having given the said J. S. King and Sotoby, full instructions, and invested them with full power to act for me, in every way as circumstances may seem to them most beneficial and expedient. I require my friend King to pay every attention to the comforts of my people entrusted to his care, and solemnly enjoin him to return with them to me in safety, and to report to me faithfully such accounts as they may receive from King George.

I hereby grant him, my said friend J. S. King, in consideration of the confidence I repose in him, of various services he has already rendered me—presents he has made, and above all the obligations I am under to him for his attention to my mother in her last illness, as well as having saved the lives of several of my principal people, the free and full possession of my country near the sea coast and Port Natal, from Natal Head to the Stinkein River, including the extensive Grazing Flats and Forests, with the Islands in the Natal harbour, and the Matterban Nations, together with the free and exclusive trade of all my dominions; and I hereby also confirm all my former grants to him.

John X Jacob.
mark.

Witness the above scrawl having been made by King Chaka as his signature. (Signed) N. J. Isaacs.

Sworn before H. Hudson Esq., Resident Magistrate of Port Elizabeth, July 29th, 1828, by Nathaniel Isaacs and John Jacobs the Interpreter as a true document, and signed in their presence.

Quod Attestor,

JOHN ANTY. CHABAUD, Notary Public.

A.D. 1829.

In 1829 Mr. Saxe Bannister, the late Attorney General of New South Wales, felt induced to join Lieut. Farewell's speculation and settlement, and in the month of May, of that year,

he addressed the following summary view of himself and co-adjutor, to His Majesty's Secretary of State for the Colonies :

“ Cape Town, May 12, 1829.

“ SIR,

“ I beg leave in recommendation of the proposals, to add a few remarks upon the ‘advantages,’ which in the printed papers already presented to you, we allege ‘may be gained to Great Britain, by establishing civil government at Natal;’ and as a copy of this letter has been presented to His Excellency Sir Lowry Cole, I venture to anticipate that these few details will be received as a solid basis, unless shewn to be incorrectly stated.

“ (a) A gradual increase of trade,’

“ In the experience of the colony, surpassing all anticipation as it has done on some points, we possess the best materials for encouraging hopes of the future interior trade. It is not contended, that it will be as lucrative as that of rich countries ; but it will reward industrious men ; and assist surely, although slowly, to improve the natives : and that the more effectually, when our productions are brought under their daily notice. Two articles, ivory and the produce of cattle, have been selected as illustrations of the point, that trade will increase considerably by our coming into more intimate communication with the people of South-eastern Africa. Elephants abound in the country ; and all the tribes have herds of cattle. So that the following short tables of Cape exports may be expected to indicate what can be done at Natal. They are examples only of what further details shew more fully.

“ As to ivory exported :—

“ In 1799, 1481 lbs. ; 1800, 1500 lbs. ; 1801, 1500 lbs. ; 1802, 1500 lbs.

“ At this rate Mr. Barrow held that the export of ivory would remain ; and it did remain much so, until a little freedom of intercourse with the natives was allowed of late years. That opening raised it to the following amount, which would be exceeded at Natal for a considerable time to come.

“ In 1818, 3815 lbs. ; 1819, 1910 lbs. ; 1820, 8870 lbs. ; 1821, 4538 lbs. ; 1822, 24,420 lbs. ; 1823, 19,885 lbs. ; 1824, 20,661 lbs. ; 1825, 106,778 lbs. ; 1826, 48,258 lbs. ; 1827, 38,140 lbs. ; 1828, 21,413 lbs.

“ As to the produce of herds of cattle :—

“ In 1828, the exports at Algoa Bay, from cattle, were as follows :—Butter, £8114 ; cheese, £125 ; candles, £211 ; tallow, £1734 ; salted beef, £6415 ; hides, £12,804 ; leather, £772 ; horns, £1914 ; —Total, £32,089 Custom-house valuation.

“ In 1802, and until 1817, the yearly exports of hides from the whole colony did not, I think, exceed the average value of £1500 ;

and of another article now considerable, horns, all seem to have been then wasted.

" Of these articles, much of the horns and hides comes from the recent opening with the Caffres ; and the kindred tribes near Natal would very soon gladly sell those raw materials in great quantities. At no distant day they would adopt our more agreeable and cheaper clothing for the hides they now wear ; and which they are learning to prepare better for the market. The other articles would speedily follow as the people perceived the advantage of selling what they now eat needlessly ; and as they gradually knew how to convert part of their milk, fat, and meat, into saleable articles. Besides these immediate subjects of trade, others to the number of 29, are sold by the frontier Caffres at the Keiskamma ; who, although less industrious than those to the eastward, may soon lessen the cost of provisioning the troops stationed there. They now bring in much grain : and possessing between 3 and 400,000 head of cattle, they will one day, if we act towards them with ordinary prudence, produce butter, beef, tallow, and similar commodities for the colonial market, consuming in return proportionate quantities of manufactures. That they have a strong appreciation of the value of property is proved by what occurred after opening the new fair. It being feared they might be too easily tempted to part with their cattle, and when stripped, resort to plundering us, the cattle trade was prohibited. At length the government allowed it, and well-informed persons anticipated a safe, steady supply from them of at least 1,500 yearly. The actual sales, however, for 1828, at twelve fairs were 78 head. We have much yet to learn of the customs and principles of these people, whom we unjustly call savages.

" To these remarks, it may be added, that the mercantile body at Cape Town have declared their opinion, annexed to this letter, that a settlement at Natal, protected by his Majesty's Government, will promote the commercial interests of the colony.

" " (b) Protection for the interior traders

" " (c) Furnishing some means of checking the occasional misconduct of the traders."

" If the former of these two heads has hitherto little needed attention, it arises from the respect white men always gain from the coloured people, until revenge is instigated by the injuries we inflict ; and the kindness with which at first we are uniformly received, should furnish a motive for our seeking suitable guards against the frequent occurrence of the latter evil. Neglect of this matter will unquestionably, ere long, be a serious obstacle to all exertions for civilising South Africa. For a century past, the Cape government has known little of its white vagrants ; and consequently it has controlled them too little. The old errors in this respect are very far from being yet sufficiently amended. After, also, properly yielding to experience in favor of a system of intercourse with our

neighbours, refused rigidly until 1823, it has not yet followed up the natural abuse of the wise newly adopted principles. It is understood, that at this moment, hawkers, pretending to be licensed, and others, carry on the kidnapping of black people and a modified slave trade on the north-eastern frontier; bringing the craft of civilization without its restraint amongst our feeble neighbours. We are thus plainly committing a breach of public law by not accompanying our advance with its available checks; in which case, enterprising men, whom we cannot keep back, would promote order instead of retarding its progress. Upon the present inefficient system, it is not surprising, that the natives, amongst whom they go without law, should inquire—‘What sort of government is that, which will not avenge the wrongs committed by its own subjects?’ and that they do often ask such a question, I learn from a letter written in this year to myself, by a person of credit living in that country.

““(d) A better way to the interior than any now known.’

“The healthiness of the spot gives Natal a great superiority over Delagoa Bay; and it is believed not to be cut off by the parched Karoos from the populous tribes known to be between Lattakoo and the eastern ocean. Protection on the coast would invite travellers to a new field at Natal, and to a boundless unknown region beyond. In order to reach the same countries from the Cape, they, and their attendants of every description, are now exhausted before they find the nearest objects deserving examination: but what of it was familiar to Europeans a century ago, under circumstances altogether unfavorable for reasearch, (except at the Dutch factory in 1720,) promises advantages to our more advanced science and philanthropic views at an easy cost.

““(e) A means of civilizing the natives near the Cape of Good Hope and in the interior.

““(f) Support to missions at Lattakoo, on the Vaal river, in Depa’s country, and at the back of Caffreland.’

“The convenience of access from Natal to these spots, already supplied by the Moravian, Wesleyan, and London society’s missionaries, is obvious from a glance at the map; and right principles once established on our part, the numerous intervening tribes will generally promote that peaceful intercourse which is so useful to all parties. They who are familiar with no more persuasive and lasting means of influence over the less civilized than main force, know little of the power of quietly appealing to their interests and good feelings. With the support of suitable defences against occasional violence on all sides, gentle proceedings so directed will produce effects amongst the Africans, of which the rapidity and value can only be estimated by those who have carefully weighed the obstacles in the way of exertions already made for civilising them; as well as the greater obstacles which have impeded them in their own

struggles to become civilised. The establishment contemplated aims at diminishing the power of both these kinds of obstacles. The following note, from a judicious Wesleyan missionary now in Caffreland, is valuable as containing the testimony of practical and cautious persons in its favour: 'Our late district meeting has strongly recommended the Wesleyan missionary committee to enable us to commence missions with the Amapondas under Faku, and with the Zulus near Port Natal: even without a settlement at Natal, we think the way is open for this extension of the missions; but should your plan of forming a settlement there take effect, the reason for commencing missions in that part, as well as for their probably permanency and success, will be increased a thousand fold.'

"(g) Lessening the expense of defending the frontier of the Cape of Good Hope.

"(h) Cheap additional security to British interests in South Africa."

"The principal advantages Natal offers on these heads, are its capabilities for promoting all measures directed to civilizing the natives, and so rendering peace with them less insecure; and, consequently, military establishments less needed. If means of civilizing them be not more distinctly sought than it is now, military expenses must increase. The Caffres between Natal and the colony must either be improved, or be destroyed; and although the latter alternative will never be willingly sought by the British government, I submit, that our proceedings are, against our will, substantially the same as those hitherto practised in all European settlements, and must slowly destroy our victimis. In the mean time, we are exposed to many dangerous contingencies, since, against people in their state, who cannot calculate accurately their disadvantages in contests, their oppressors are never safe, although they themselves at last gain nothing by resistance.

"But if we would wisely resolve to improve them, as we might do with little cost, and not without an early return, such establishments as that proposed for Natal would be of the first importance. The chief officers would be devoted to studying their domestic polity, the character of their leaders, the true interests of the people, and their mutual relations. They would also acquire an accurate knowledge of their established laws, and how to accommodate them the most usefully to their own; and so facilitate the execution of justice between us—a main point which is almost universally missed. It is a great error to suppose them destitute of fixed rules of law, strictly so called, because they possess no statute book or written digest: they have at least a sufficiently clear acquaintance with the principles of justice to see the inconsistency and injustice of our course towards them.

"We shall thus be better able to guard against those unhappy

violences, which must sometimes be looked for with every care ; and still better to calculate the effect of the various measures necessary for advancing their civil condition. By an enlightened conduct, influence would be gained over the minds of the natives, through their just hopes of a better state being the consequence of exertions, in which they would speedily take an active part. When the supreme government was seen to be heartily engaged in the same cause, although in different modes, the independent labours of the missionaries would proceed with greatly increased effect ; and there is no vice in the present situation of the natives which would not be steadily corrected.

“ ‘ (i) Securing aid to distressed ships ’

“ The known wrecks on the east coast have not been very numerous. In the present year, however, the survivors of the crew of the French ship, the *Eole*, lost near the Bashie, seem to owe their safety to traders and missionaries having now access to Caffreland. Memorials are preserved relative to the various fate of the crews of eleven others wrecked east of the Fish River ; and to many, as to the *Grosvenor's*, a settlement at Natal, holding a friendly intercourse with all the neighbouring tribes, would have been a refuge from their melancholy end. The coasting trade, too, being extended, would increase employment for hardy seamen.

“ In regard to the last point noticed in the printed paper, that if we are obliged to abandon the settlement for want of support, it will be open to any foreign power, *I submit the law to be clear. It is no part of the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope and its dependencies.* After obtaining a right to Southern Africa by discovery, the Portuguese abandoned the whole, except from Mozambique downwards to Inhambane, which was their extreme post to the south in 1720. The Duteh had before occupied the abandoned Cape and a few miles beyond it ; and passing the intervening coasts, settled Delagoa Bay and Natal in 1720. They also abandoned both those points in 1731 ; soon after which the Portuguese re-occupied as far as Delagoa Bay from Inhambane : the space of coast from Delagoa Bay to the eastern limits of the Cape colony never being again possessed by Europeans until 1824. Mr. Farewell's acquisition from Chaka then vested the sovereignty in his Majesty, unconnectedly in title with the Cape, although communication was made to his Excellency Lord Charles Somerset, as the nearest authority to whom it would probably be subjected, and with whom communication was had for other purposes, as in regard to obtaining passes for men. There seems to be no doubt that a foreign power in possession of Natal, and in connexion with Mozambique or Bourbon, might obtain great influence over the tribes, and prove a troublesome enemy in support of a disaffected population within the colony in a future war. Upon all the foregoing accounts, we now trust, this acquisition (not rejected by Lord

Charles Somerset, when notified pursuant to his request) will be adopted by his Majesty, and that our special interest in it will be recognised.

" It is not proposed to enter into any extensive plan of colonisation, or to take a single settler from Europe ; although, if the plan which is proposed succeeds, a new opening will be afforded to such settlers. Not more than six principal white officers, civil and military, would be required for the first three years ; most of whom the Cape might supply from the inhabitants generally, as it could the soldiers, mechanics, and labourers, from the civilized Hottentots, now resident within or near the colonial boundaries. The annual expense contemplated would be £5000 sterling ; the distribution of which is set out in a paper accompanying the correspondence. Another paper contains the calculation of the articles which would be required at the charge of the public during those three years. It is conceived that at the end of three years it would appear whether the local expenses could be borne by the people in any degree ; and whether circumstances would either justify the extension of the contemplated exertions, or afford a reasonable prospect that the effects of what might be already done, would at least be so permanently useful as not to call for the abandonment of the original limited enterprise.

" I take the liberty of adding that my brother will soon be in possession of many further details upon all the foregoing points ; and I trust that these views will appear to be practical, and calculated to have so important a bearing upon the great object of African improvement, that an establishment, such as that contemplated in the printed paper, may be thought desirable to be founded at Natal in order to promote them.

" The obstacles to civilising Africa are not small ; but his Majesty has great means for success at command, not yet, I may be permitted to say, enough tried ; as,—justice ;—the due distribution of the land ;—the native trade ;—support of the well-disposed white inhabitants—and advancement of the well-disposed natives ;—political intercourse with the chiefs ;—and education of the people ;—upon which topics, we are prepared to shew how the present practice may be essentially improved, without any interference with the established principles of British government.

" S. BANNISTER.

" To the Secretary of State, &c. &c."

The reply to this communication from the Secretary of State was, that—

" His Majesty's government do not perceive that such advantages would accrue to the public by adopting these suggestions, as would counterbalance the expense, and other inconveniences, which

must inevitably attend the formation of a new settlement at Port Natal."

The decided opinion expressed by this *legal authority*—the *ci devant* Attorney General of New South Wales—that "*I submit the law to be clear. It (Natal) is no part of the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope and its dependencies,*" and the ground on which that opinion is come to is assuredly deserving of some consideration in our relations with that place.

On Mr. Bannister's proposition the following judicious remarks were made by the Editor of *The Graham's Town Journal*, on the 3rd of August, 1832, and re-printed, with some additions, in his work, "*A Narrative of the Irruption of the Kafir hordes into the Eastern Province of the Cape of Good Hope,*" 1834-35,—page 163 *et seq.*

The question of the occupation of Port Natal may elsewhere be matter of unprofitable speculation; but it must ever be deeply interesting to the inhabitants of the frontier of this colony, whose quiet is even now subject to daily interruptions from the frequent alarms so often communicated to the border tribes by every movement of the Zoolas, and whose property would depend upon the frailest of tenures, should Port Natal, the only vulnerable point on the coast, be occupied by any rival power. Should we, unfortunately, be anticipated in the occupation of this port the consequences would be equally injurious and inevitable. Our present lucrative and daily extending trade would be annihilated at a word; a wide field of profitable emigration and a most promising vent for English manufactures, would be closed and pre-occupied; all future prospects, dependant upon the spread of civilization in the interior, would be at an end; and the possession of Port Natal would, with a few hundred fire arms, have the power of propelling the whole population of Kafirland upon our frontier, and at some future day, by superadding the advantage of discipline to the overwhelming numbers of the native tribes—the English interests of the Cape of Good Hope might be circumscribed by the lines of Cape Town. The only proposal to settle Natal which has been submitted to government as far as we know was that of Mr. B. and whatever may have been the general merits of his scheme it was at least novel, experimental, and not very easy to be comprehended; it embraced no proposal of emigration, and it demanded a full recognition of his and Mr. Farewell's special interests in all the country around Port Natal. Mr. B. wished to relieve the Cape government of legislating for his new settlement, and although he shews that the territory

was purchased by the former government of the Cape, and consequently was one of the dependencies subsequently ceded to England by treaty—although he shews that Mr. Farewell took possession of Port Natal under the authority of the government of the Cape, from whom he requested a monopoly of the trade, and even some magisterial appointment at Natal—yet Mr. B. considers the acquisition of Mr. F. to have vested the sovereignty in his Majesty, “unconnectedly in title with the Cape, an opinion which can only be accounted for when it is remembered that it was expressed by him in the capacity of an advocate of *special* interests.

To Mr. Bannister’s proposal the governor of the colony, Sir G. L. Cole, stated that he could not see the advantages of his proposal, but that he should express no opinion against it unless called upon. The answer of the Secretary of State was much to the same tenor ; it stated that His Majesty’s government could not perceive that such advantages would accrue to the public by adopting his suggestions, as would counterbalance the expense and other inconveniences which must inevitably attend the formation of a new settlement at Port Natal.

These replies may be accounted for naturally enough, when it is remembered that “the public advantages held out by Mr B’s. proposal were rather speculative and remote than immediate and practical.

It is indeed difficult to perceive how the colonial and the home governments could do otherwise than they have done ; but it by no means follows that government will shew an equal disregard of any more practical scheme of occupying Natal, provided the interests of the public appear to require it, and that it is not again proposed to permit these to be superseded by the special interests of individuals.

The occupation of Natal appears equally demanded for the purposes of trade—of colonization—and of prevention—any one of which is important enough to justify the measure in a national point of view ; and we must infer a most improbable degree of supineness and indifference to the public good in the councils of the King before we can imagine that all these considerations united are not strong enough to induce His Majesty’s government to take formal possession of Natal, *before it be too late*.

So far the *Graham’s Town Journal*, to which is added in the *Narrative* :—

To this powerful argument we shall only add, that perhaps it is not easy to form an idea of any country which hold out a fairer prospect of success for the formation of a new settlement than Port Natal. The country around the harbour, and for two hundred miles westward towards the colony to a considerable depth inland,

is uninhabited except by a few scattered individuals, the wrecks of the tribes exterminated by the desolating wars of the Zoola chiefs. The climate is of the most salubrious character, whilst the fertility of the soil is spoken of in terms of unqualified commendation. On this point a communication from a trader residing there states—"I have now been here a sufficient time to form an opinion of every season of the year, and can assure you that it is raised a hundred fold higher than at first. The wheat I sowed is now ripe, heavy in the ear, and free from rust, although sown so late as the 18th Oct. (1831). I have about five acres of Indian corn, as thick as oats—not less than 20 muids, (60 bushels) per acre. My people, for I have two villages, already have at least 500 muids. The Indian corn ripened in ten weeks, and the same land is cropping again. All kinds of vegetables have done remarkably well, pumpkins grow wild upon the old kraals, and are much more prolific than in the colony, even with the most careful cultivation. The growth of the grass is so rapid that what was burned in September and October is now eight feet high. I have been twice inland by two different routs, nearly north. All the country in these directions is superior to the coast for cultivation. At the distance of 80 miles you reach the first range of mountains, which are clothed with forests of pure timber from 60 to 80 feet high; no underwood from the base of the hill to the summit, and a very good road for wagons." The depopulated country towards the colony is described by all who have travelled it, in the same terms of admiration. The ill-fated, but amiable and enterprising travellers, Messrs. COWIE and GREEN, who passed through it on their route to De la Goa bay, in the early part of 1829, left memoranda, which represent it as beautiful beyond description, especially near the sea. The meadows are said to be carpetted with the most luxuriant herbage, and watered every few hundred yards by copious rivulets whose banks are level with the priaries through which they meander—the rivers swarming with fish and hippopotami; the plains and hills in some parts covered with woods of gigantic forest trees, whose recesses are alive with elephants; and the vegetation, where observed, consisting of the sweet cane, millet and maize, rich beyond all that the travellers had noticed in the most favored parts of the Cape Colony. A very few miles to the eastward of the Umzimvoobo, a spot is described as the scene of the wreck of the *Grosvenor*; and a remarkable hill, which the travellers named Mount George in Windsor Forest, is mentioned as the great height which stopped the progress of Van Reenen's wagons, when in search of the crew of that vessel in 1790. Amidst all these natural beauties, the travellers proceeded for thirty-five days along the coast without falling in with any natives. Dr. A. Smith, who crossed this tract in 1832, speaks of it in similar terms of admiration, and observes that it is intersected by no less than one hundred and twenty rivers.

The atrocities of Chaka, which had become unendurable, and the ambition of his brother, at length produced the destruction of that sanguinary chief. During a conversation with his council Dingaan treacherously stabbed him in the back, and was almost immediately afterwards proclaimed his successor, to run through a career even more deeply stained with human blood than that which had preceded it.

In the month of July the enterprising Farewell left Graham's Town with Messrs. Thackwray, Sen. and Walker, and about thirty Hottentots, with the intention of returning to his settlement at the port. Having reached the missionary station of Mr. Shepstone, in the chief Faku's country, without any impediment, and rested a short time from their fatigue, they resumed their journey. Shortly after they fell in with John Cane, late Ambassador from Chaka, who was on his way to the Colony, with a fine elephant's tooth, as a present to the Governor from the brother and successor to Chaka. Being desirous of company, Cane signified his intention of proceeding to Mr. Shepstone's station, to place the tooth in his care, and return with the party to Natal. With this view he hastened off in hopes of accomplishing his object. In the mean time, a chief, named Queto, and who was captain under Chaka, hearing of the approach of the travellers, dispatched a deputation, with two bullocks as a peace-offering, with an earnest request that they would sojourn with him during their stay in his territory. This invitation was accepted; and the unsuspected travellers were greeted with every demonstration of welcome, and the chief, as a color to his sincerity, provided a plentiful repast for his weary guests. Confident of their safety, the strangers retired to their tent; and at the hour of midnight, while wrapt in sleep, the treacherous Queto rose upon his unoffending guests and basely murdered Farewell, Thackwray, Walker, and two Hottentots. The motive alleged for this outrage was, that the party on its arrival at the residence of the Zoola chief Dingaan would most likely be employed in some attaak upon this chief. Queto some time after was destroyed at the Omzimvooboo River.

A.D. 1830—1832.

Subsequent to the massacre of Farewell and his party Port Natal was visited by several British traders from the Colony, amongst whom may be especially mentioned the Messrs. Cawood's and Collis. The former proceeded thither in 1832, and, in the course of a few months, collected produce, chiefly ivory, worth £2,000 sterling, with which they returned in safety to the Colony. Mr. James Collis preceded the Cawood's several months, and had, at the period of their arrival, made considerable progress towards fixing himself firmly on the spot. He afterwards visited the Colony, giving the most flattering description of his adopted country, in respect of its fertility, the friendly disposition of the natives and the capabilities of the place for colonization and trade. In March, 1834, he again departed from Graham's Town with twelve wagons, heavily laden with necessaries and merchandize, and carried on a successful speculation. On the 24th of the following September, however, this zealous pioneer of civilization, who was most generally esteemed by every one of a numerous acquaintance of his brother settlers of 1820 was destroyed by an explosion, occasioned by incautiously snapping the lock of a musket over a barrel of powder in his store, by which several persons were at the same time killed along with himself.

A.D. 1832.

The little settlement now proceeded with chequered fortunes. In 1832, in consequence of some alarming reports of treacherous intentions on the part of Dingaan, raised by a chief named Jacob, the settlers considered it prudent for a time to abandon the neighbourhood of the port, upon which Mr. Fynn, who had originally been one of the party of Farewell, and others were pursued and robbed of their cattle. Shortly after their return they demanded the restitution of their property, which Dingaan would only promise upon the condition that seven chiefs, who had taken refuge from his cruelties with the English, should be destroyed. This was, of course, refused and the chiefs apprised of their danger, when they prudently fled.

A.D. 1833.

In the following year (1833) Dingaan's troops, returning from a marauding expedition against the noted freebooter N'Capai, fell in with and attacked some Hottentots with their wagons. The news of this event, probably exaggerated, reached Natal, and the settlers suspicious that this was the earnest of further hostilities, in consequence of the flight of the seven chiefs, fired upon the forces as they passed the port. Upon this Dingaan ordered all his people to remove to the north-east of the Tugola River, which movement indicating warlike views, the settlers again fled and sat down west of the Omzimvooboo River; but, after a few months Dingaan invited them back, apologizing for the attack upon the Hottentots as unintended : Jacob, the author of these misunderstandings, and several other chiefs, he punished with death.

The extreme droughts, frequently experienced along the northern frontier of the Colony, had induced, for many years before, a number of the Dutch farmers to cross the Great or Orange River from time to time with their cattle in search of pasture, and as the country in that direction was but sparingly occupied, and that chiefly by Griquas, *intruders like themselves*, several of them at last, following the Griquas example, settled down altogether. In the early part of 1832 Captain Stockenstrom estimated their numbers at about 200 families, in all somewhat more than 1,000 souls, who had fixed their abode along the Kraai River and the south branch of the Gariep. These people, according to his statement to the authorities, at that time cherished no ideas of an independent government, —they visited the Colony to pay taxes, and to participate in the rites and consolations of religion. They were so anxious for their recognition as subjects that, on a visit to Captain Stockenstrom, a short time previous, they expressed *disappointment* he had not come to fix some political agent in the shape of a Landdrost or Civil Commissioner amongst them. Captain Stockenstrom expressed himself on this subject with great justice and good sense, that—

" Such emigration from the Colony could not be repressed by the Government, but it was their duty to follow the emigrants with colonial laws, for it would prevent the evils which men thrown out of a state of society would have recourse to, if unacknowledged as citizens. The commando system, with all its evils was, no doubt, less ferocious under the superintendence of Government, than had it been the unrestrained efforts of men forcibly thrown into a state of nature to repress the aggressions of savages upon their means of subsistence and life itself."

The effect of the intrusion of the boers *at this time*, into that country, was also then defended by the same authority—

" The black native tribes, Bechuanas and others, *rejoice* on the encroachment, as it is termed, of the Boers, for they are supported by it. The Corunnas, a pure Hottentot race, addicted to plunder; and the Griquas, with most of the vices of both the civilized and savage state, deny the evil of these encroachments. Should war ensue, the Boers are fully equal to compete with the Griquas. If we cast off these Boers we shall lose revenue—allow them to be deprived of religious aid and instruction and if they destroy the natives it will be our own fault."

A.D. 1834.

In 1834, a missionary of the name of Kolbe, made an official representation that there were, at that time, removed across the northern boundary 1120 families, who had in their possession 200 slaves. This representation, the accuracy of what was doubted and laid to the credit of extreme credulity in the gentleman who communicated the intelligence, and had besides, received a positive contradiction by affidavit, from a late slave of one of the emigrants, was, however, with praiseworthy zeal followed up by the Cape Government. Captain Armstrong of the Cape Corps, was commissioned to take a force and seize the slaves, whose abduction was thus denounced ; but it appears from the printed papers on this subject from the officer employed on the expedition, from Lt.-Col. Somerset, the Commandant of Kaffraria, and from Captain Campbell, the Civil Commissioner of Albany, that only 14 slaves had been taken away, that *they* went with their own consent ; that 10 of these belonged to one individual, and that

a number of Hottentots, the reputed “ill-used and oppressed” people of the “cruel Boers,” although told they might return with the military party, chose to remain with their hard-task-masters, the self-expatiated frontier farmers.—(Vide, Military Correspondence, Oct. 10, Nov. 7, 14, 21—1834.)

Dr. Andrew Smith the intelligent and indefatigable naturalist and traveller, who had visited Natal in 1832, reported so favorably of its capabilities for emigration, that public attention was at this time forcibly attracted to the place. The consequence of this was the transmission of a Memorial to the Home Government, signed by 192 merchants and others of Cape Town, requesting that Natal might be colonized. To this Memorial, some able notes upon the country, was appended from the pen of Dr. S. But the Government, however, refused *again* to listen to any overtures of the kind, and Natal remained subject to all those irregularities which mark communities of men unrestrained by law in the vicinity of savages, who know no control to their passions. With what ease and small expense this place could have then been taken possession of, and its promise will appear by the following extract from Dr. Smith’s Notes:—

Parag. 9.—“ Looking therefore to the features of the country itself, its capabilities of maintaining a large population,” &c. &c. &c,

A detachment of 60 men, together with a magistrate to administer the law, and communicate with the Zoolas, would, in my opinion, be quite sufficient for the protection of a small mercantile community. It would, however, be next to impossible to confine it long to such a class of persons. The character by which the country is known, both in the colony and elsewhere, would urge thither persons of all descriptions, and in no long time the entire of the district now lying waste would be covered with emigrants, who, if they were commonly industrious, would soon convert it into a most flourishing settlement.

(Signed)

ANDREW SMITH, M. D.,
Staff Assistant-Surgeon.

Cape Town, 6th May, 1834.

The following is the official negative put upon the Merchant’s Petition, received the following year--.

Colonial Office, Cape Town, 12th March, 1835.

GENTLEMEN,

With reference to my letter to you of the 19th January last, relative to a memorial addressed to the King in Council by several Merchants and Inhabitants of the Cape, praying for the establishment of a Settlement at Port Natal, I have the honor to acquaint you, for the information of the Memorialists, that a despatch has been received from the Secretary of State, stating that His Majesty's Government have fully considered the Memorial in question; but, with every disposition duly to appreciate the benefits likely to result from an extension of the commerce and the general relations of the colony, the Government do not feel that they could recommend to His Majesty to grant his sanction to the prayer of the petition; as in the present state of the finances of the Cape any additional expense for the establishment of a new Settlement would be highly inconvenient, and could not, with propriety be incurred,

I have the honor to be, gentlemen,

Your most obedient servant,

(Signed)

JOHN BELL.

The good faith towards, and the dependence on the Colony at this time felt by the farmers, may be gathered from the fact, that one of these voluntary exiles, at this period, applied to Mr. Rawstone, the Civil Commissioner of Colesberg, to enregister a slave, born beyond the boundary, which was, of course, refused to be entertained by the Registrar.

The active party, of whom Mr. Kolbe had been the recent instrument, eager to grasp any circumstance to keep alive the all-potent non-slavery cry, and to impugn the character of the colonists, had, for some time before, laid to their charge that they had introduced from beyond the frontier, Bechuanah children as slaves—an accusation, at once denied by Captain Stockenstrom—certainly an authority, when in *favor* of his countrymen—who, in a letter to D. M. Percival, Esq. Clerk to the Council, dated, 20 February, 1827, designates it as a “visionary idea of their being enslaved or substituted for slaves.” Notwithstanding which grave and authoritative proof of innocence, this charge has been reiterated year after year, and is now transferred from the inhabitants within the Colony to the Farmers at Natal.

The close of 1834 witnessed the unprovoked but long conspired invasion of the Colony by the Kafir tribes, the result of which was the plunder and almost destruction of a peaceable and unoffending people, whose whole intercourse with the barbarians had been directed to civilize, conciliate, and christianize them. On this occasion, 5,715 horses, 111,930 cattle, 161,930 sheep and goats were carried off; 456 houses were reduced to ashes, 300 were pillaged, 58 wagons destroyed, amounting to the value of £300,000 sterling, and 44 lives mercilessly sacrificed by the savages.

This wide spread and murderous desolation, inflicted upon 7,000 British subjects, was however *justified* by the then Secretary of State for the Colonies, Lord Glenelg. Deceived by a party of meddling enthusiasts, set on by individuals who had their private ends to serve,—who would see nothing but what was amiable in black skins, and oppressive and cruel in white—*he*, the natural protector of his Sovereign's lieges, abandoned his charge, and by lending his ear to irresponsible informers, gravely put upon record the following monstrous and baseless opinion :—

That through a long series of years the Kafirs had an ample justification of the war ;” that they “ had to resent, and endeavored justly though impotently to avenge a series of encroachments,—they had a perfect right to hazard the experiment, however hopeless of extorting by force that redress which they could not otherwise obtain, and that the original justice is on the side of the conquered (Kafirs) and not the victorious party.”

This public expression, by such a high and influential authority, and the subsequent dismissal of Sir Benjamin D'Urban from the Government of the Colony, had an immediate effect upon the Dutch farmers, who began to prepare for a most extensive abandonment of their native homes, indignant at having insult added to injury, and every prospect of redress thus at once cut off.

A. D. 1835.

Natal was visited in 1835 by Capain Allen Gardiner of the Royal Navy, a near relative of Lord Bexley. This gentleman,

impressed with the belief he could effect the religious conversion of the Zoolah nation, established friendly relations with Dingaan, who, however, he describes as an atrocious miscreant; and although that chief would not listen to the erection of a mission near his own village or kraal, he permitted him to fix an institution at the port itself, to which the name of Berea was given, where about 2,500 natives were settled under the English residents. With rather more zeal than humanity he entered into the following treaty with the despot, whereby he agreed that in future all deserters from Dingaan should be given up, and which he actually carried out by surrendering with his own hand several of those unfortunates, who were put to a slow and cruel death :—

A Treaty concluded between Dingaan, King of the Zoolus and the British Residents at Port Natal :—

Dingaan, from this period, consents to waive all claim to the persons and property of every individual now residing at Port Natal, in consequence of their having deserted from him, and accords them his full pardon. He still, however, regards them as his subjects, liable to be sent for whenever he may think proper.

The British residents at Port Natal on their part engage for the future never to receive or harbour any deserter from the Zoolu country or any of its dependencies, and to use every endeavour to secure and return to the King every such individual, endeavouring to find an asylum among them.

Should a case arise, in which this is found to be impracticable, immediate intelligence, stating the particulars of the circumstance, is to be forwarded to Dingaan.

Any infringement of this treaty on either part invalidates the whole.

Done at Congella this 6th day of May, 1835, in presence of —

UMTHELLA, } Chief Indoonas and head Councillors of
TAMBOOZA, } the Zoolu nation.

G. CYRUS, Interpreter.

Signed on behalf of the British Residents at Port Natal.

ALLEN F. GARDINER.

On the 23rd of the following June the inhabitants of the port, having founded a town and made a number of Regulations, addressed a petition to Sir Benjamin D'Urban, begging that he would transmit their prayer for His Majesty's recognition of the settlement. To this, however the home government, still stedfast in their former resolution, refused to accede. Sir Benjamin, however, in the interim, pledged himself to send an officer to be in authority in the place of Capt. Gardiner during his absence to England, where he proceeded to procure the recognition of the settlement :—

Petition of the Householders of the Town of D'Urban, Port Natal.

May it please your Excellency,—

We, the undersigned British subjects, inhabitants of Port Natal and its vicinity, have commenced building a town, called D'Urban, in honor of your Excellency.

We hold in our possession extensive tracts of excellent land—a considerable portion of which has long been under cultivation; many of us are occupied in conducting a valuable trade in hides and ivory, the former of which is almost exclusively obtained within the limits which, by mutual consent of surrounding chieftains, have been conceded to us.

In consequence of the exterminating wars of Chaka, late king of the Zoolus, and other causes, the whole country included between the Umzimcoolu and Tugala rivers, is now unoccupied by its original possessors, and with a very few exceptions is totally uninhabited.

Numbers of natives, from time to time, have entered this settlement for protection; the amount of whom, at this present moment, cannot be less than three thousand.

These all acknowledge us as their chiefs, and look to us for protection, notwithstanding which, we are living in the neighbourhood of powerful native states without the shadow of a law or a recognized authority among us.

We, therefore, humbly pray your Excellency, for the sake of humanity—for the upholding of the British character in the eyes of the natives—for the well-being of this increasing community—for the cause of morality and religion, to transmit this, our Petition, to His Majesty's Government, praying, that it may please His Majesty to recognize the country intervening between the Umzim-

coolu and Tugala rivers, which we have named VICTORIA, in honor of our august Princess, as a colony of the British empire, and to appoint a Governor and Council, with power to enact such laws and regulations as may be deemed expedient by them in concert with a body of Representatives chosen by ourselves, to constitute a House of Assembly.

And your Petitioners, as in duty bound, will ever pray.

His Britannic Majesty's Governor of the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope, to the Chief of the Zoolus, Dingaan.

I rejoice to hear of the good word which has passed between the Chief and Captain Gardiner, and of the Treaty concluded between them, for the town and people of Port Natal.

An officer, on the part of the King of England, my master, shall speedily be sent to Port Natal, to be in authority there, in the place of Captain Gardiner, until his return, and to communicate with the Chief Dingaan upon all matters concerning the people of Natal. By him I will send to the Chief presents in token of friendship and good understanding, of which I hereby assure the Chief in the name of the King, my master.

(Signed)

BENJ. D'URBAN.

Governor of the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope.

Given at the Cape of Good Hope, this 5th day of December, 1835.

On the 13th July Dingaan pledged his royal word to cede to Gardiner and the people at Natal what had been already purchased in 1689 by the Dutch government, and then again given, first to Farewell, then to King and afterwards to Collis, viz. all the territory between the Tugala and Omzimcoolu Rivers, and as far back from the coast as the Quathlamba Mountains, about 15,000 square miles.

The florid representations of Mr. Collis on his several visits to the Colony of his favorite Natal had had some considerable effect upon the Dutch Colonists of the frontier. At this time too—smarting under the recent invasion and irritated by the Abolition Act, which, they alleged, deprived them of

their slaves for an inadequate compensation,* and denied the enactment of a law to repress vagrancy, which had become an intolerable evil, although such a law they considered was pledged to them by the government when it wished to pacify

*COMPENSATION FOR EMANCIPATED SLAVES.

The following Table shews the appraised value of the Slaves in the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope, with the sum actually awarded to the late Proprietors :—

| Number of Slaves. | CLASS. | Appraised value by British Com- missioners. | | | Amonnt awarded as compensation by British Govt. | | |
|-------------------------|--|---|----|----|---|----|----|
| | <i>Prædial.</i> | £ | s. | d. | £ | s. | d. |
| 399 | Head People, | 63,251 | 15 | 0 | 25,943 | 0 | 8 |
| 297 | Do. Tradesmen,..... | 46,433 | 15 | 0 | 19,045 | 0 | 10 |
| 132 | Inferior do. | 15,783 | 10 | 0 | 6,473 | 13 | 8 |
| 5,671 | Field Laborers, | 754,256 | 1 | 6 | 309,362 | 1 | 10 |
| 5,333 | Inferior do. | 466,203 | 3 | 0 | 191,215 | 12 | 11 |
| | <i>Non Prædial.</i> | | | | | | |
| 1,195 | Head Tradesmen, | 179,659 | 5 | 0 | 73,688 | 3 | 6 |
| 953 | Inferior do. | 96,825 | 12 | 0 | 39,713 | 10 | 5 |
| 20 | Head People employed on Wharfs, | 1,960 | 0 | 0 | 803 | 18 | 1 |
| 23 | Inferior do. | 2,306 | 4 | 10 | 945 | 18 | 4 |
| 5,239 | Head Domestics | 603,108 | 7 | 0 | 247,368 | 0 | 6 |
| 9,860 | Inferior do. | 706,218 | 11 | 6 | 289,659 | 4 | 5 |
| 5,731 | Children | 92,922 | 9 | 2 | 38,112 | 12 | 7 |
| 892 | Aged | 12,361 | 12 | 0 | 5,070 | 3 | 5 |
| 35,745 | TOTAL..... | 3,041,290 | 6 | 0 | 1,247,401 | 1 | 2 |

Appraised Average per Head. £85 1 7½

Awarded Average do. £34 17 11¼

The result therefore appears as follows, viz. :—

| | |
|--|------------|
| To amount due by the British Government for 35,745 slaves liberated, as valued by its own appointed appraisers .. . | £3,041,290 |
| By amount actually awarded, .. . | £1,247,401 |
| Less Commission, 2½ per cent. .. . | £31,185 |
| Do. Stamps and Postages..... | 10,722 |
| Amount of which the late Slave-holders complain they have been deprived by the British Government .. . | £1,835,796 |

But the Shareholders complained of harsher treatment than this. From the circumstances that the payment of the compensation was ordered to be made in England, the Cape Merchants and others were enabled to buy up from the ignorant Boers their claims at a heavy discount, from 5 to 20, and in some instances, 27 and more per cent., often for Goods, and not cash, and they allege, correctly or not, that individuals connected with the compensation commission were most active in these proceedings. So unpopular was the whole affair that there are several instances of Farmers throwing up their claims altogether.

them for the loss of their slaves*—the Boers began now earnestly to contemplate emigration beyond the Colonial boundaries. A small party had indeed been sent out to explore and report upon the interior before the Kafir invasion, from which it returned after that event, and, no doubt, their representations increased the desire which was much strengthened by that catastrophe.

That these grievances were the real causes of the migration and that they were *real* grievances, I think we may take the opinion of Major Charters, an authority by no means too favorable to the colonists, whether English or Dutch. He observes—

Next came the compensation question; and here, *it must be confessed, the boer was rather scurvily used.* If my information be correct, and I have no reason to doubt it, for I gleaned it on the spot, *an estimation was made much below the market value of the slaves at the time, and only one half of this sum was granted.* If the money required for this payment had been sent direct from England, the discontent would have been infinitely less, but it was made payable in London, so that the boer had to place himself in the hand, and submit to *the tender mercies, of certain Cape Town merchants*, who brought his compensation-money into such a concentrated state that he had no occasion for his ox-wagon to carry it home.

Another cause of sore complaint connected with this question arose from the special justices. The following case, which was

*COLONEL WADE'S GUARANTEE FOR A VAGRANT LAW.

You will not fail to impress upon the proprietors that the Legislature has not abolished the domestic authority of the master or decided upon the emancipation of the slave without at the same time providing for “an efficient stipendiary Magistracy,” and “for the frequent and punctual visitation by the Special Justices of the Peace of the apprenticed laborers within their respective districts, and also for the enactment of laws,” for the prevention and punishment of insolence and insubordination on the part of the apprentices towards their employers, “of vagrancy” or “of any conduct on the part of the apprenticed laborers injuring or tending to injure the property of their employers” and the Proprietors may further rest satisfied that long before the period of the expiration of Apprenticeship arrives other laws will be enacted having in like manner for their object the prevention and punishment of vagrancy after that period, and for securing a sufficiency of laborers to the Colony by compelling not only the liberated Apprentice to earn his honest livelihood, but all others who being capable of doing so may be inclined to lead an idle and vagabondizing life.

Circular dated Government House, 7th January, 1834.

related to me by a boer of the name of Jacobus Uys, at Port Natal, an intelligent and respectable man, will convey an idea of what used to take place. His farm was at the Kroom river, and one of his apprentices made a complaint of ill usage against him to the special justice, who lived two days' journey on horseback distant from him. Uys was summoned to appear: he made his statement, and was allowed to return home. It seems, however, that something had been omitted in the examination, and he was summoned again; hence a journey of eight days was inflicted on him. At least judgment was given, and the complaint dismissed as being frivolous and vexatious.

Such grievances will worry people, awaken animosity, and infuse energy, even into Dutch-colonial boers—and of a dangerous nature too!

Another cause of just complaint was the violent seizure of property during the Kafir war of 1835 by Government, without adequate indemnification. Cattle were taken wherever they could be found, both for transport and provisions; and the unsettled claims on this score amount, as I have been informed, to upwards of £250,000. This abuse will best be explained by an example. I was riding out one day with the Governor near Graham's Town, when we passed, by the roadside, the tent of a wagon converted into a hut, and a family living in it. A middled aged, melancholy-looking man was standing at a little distance, who took his hat off as the Governor approached. His Excellency, as he was wont to do, when anything attracted his attention, stopped to speak to him. The man said that his name was Carnie, a Scotchman; that he had come out with the settlers in 1820; that by great exertions he had been able to make himself tolerably comfortable, and had possessed from 80 to 100 oxen; that the Kafir war took place; that he himself was marched off to Graham's Town to be enrolled as a soldier, and all his cattle taken by Government; that on his return, after the war, he found his house destroyed and all his effects gone, and that the only remuneration he could ever get consisted of some cattle, which he had been able to sell for £30. Many were the instances of a similar nature which came to my knowledge, but the above may be taken as a type of the whole. Well might these people exclaim—"Heaven protect us from our friends!"

The last subject to which I shall advert, as influencing the emigration of the boers, is the insecurity of property along the Kafir frontier from the depredations of these people. The frontier Kafirs, particularly the Gaika tribe, steal cattle from the colonists whenever they have an opportunity; and these often occur, for they are guarded with extreme negligence by their owners. *They are inimitable cattle stealers, and they set about their work with a degree of dexterity which does infinite credit to their ingenuity*

and activity. The very cattle themselves seem to be in the plot, and they elope with them as if by appointment.

The line of frontier is all in favor of the Kafirs : a dense jungle, the medium breadth of which is about five miles, torn and intersected by deep ravines, a great part of it impenetrable, except to Kafirs and wild beasts, occupies about one hundred miles of frontier, following the sinuosities of the great Fish River. The whole British army would be insufficient to guard it. The frontier Kafirs were not always thieves ; they were taught to be so by their rather more civilized neighbours, the frontier boers, who, under ancient misrule, used to make inroads upon them at their pleasure. The Kafirs returned the compliment—at first to recover their own ; afterwards, acquiring a taste for predatory habits, they continued to practise the lesson that had been taught them, and became what they now are, most daring and dexterous thieves—not robbers ;—they seldom, if ever, take by force, and, when detected in the act, a rare occurrence, generally quit their prey and make off.

A.D. 1835—36.

The war upon the Kafirs, in retaliation of their atrocious invasion terminated at the close of the year. The native tribes as far eastward as the Kei were incorporated as subjects of His Majesty, the territory annexed to the crown under the name of THE PROVINCE OF ADELAIDE. The rank and feelings of the Kafir chief were so far respected as that they were mostly appointed local functionaries under the British Government. This state of affairs, now designated as the D'Urban system, in contra-distinction to that which was destined so soon after to supersede it—the Stockenstrom Policy—lasted for 15 months ; during which period Kafir depredations almost entirely ceased—the cruel punishment for the reputed crime of witchcraft and other heathen superstitions were abrogated—the purchase of wives, the fertile cause of robbery upon the colonists, forbidden ; the Kafir people were relieved from the gross oppression of the native chiefs, and both colonists and Kafirs were happy and contented with the present peace and its prospects for the future, which the sagacious and benevolent system of Sir Benjamin D'Urban so ably administered by Colonel Smith, had produced.

A.D. 1836.

In the early part of this year a select Committee of the House of Commons was appointed to inquire into the treatment of aborigines in the British Colonies. Messrs. Buxton, Hardy, Hawes, Bagshaw, Holland, Pase, Plumtree, Sir R. S. Donkin, Sir G. Grey, Messrs. Lushington, Baynes, A. Johnstone, Wilson, Hindly, and Col. Thomson, being the members. The proceedings of this Committee had a marked and fatal influence upon the Colony. Biassed in favor of the Kafirs, and deeply prejudiced against the Colonists, every evidence in behalf of the latter, however respectable or trustworthy, was unheeded, while the wildest and most extravagant denunciations against them were favorably entertained, and even its very report was entrusted to be drawn up by the Rev. Dr. Philip, the least principled and bitterest accuser of the Colonists; a person who, to serve his purpose, did not hesitate in one case to suppress, and in another interpolate whole passages in public papers laid before the Committee, besides being guilty of the most shameless fabrications.

Amongst those who took advantage of, and fostered the popular clamour, and whose long acquaintance with the colony, and his connexion with its government, added weight to his testimony, was Captain (now Sir Andries) Stockenstrom, who, on the 2d of February, was appointed Lieut. Governor of the Eastern Districts, and who assumed his government armed with the most mischievous instructions, founded on the lamentable delusion he had assisted to produce.

The purport of Lord Glenelg's despatch of the 26th December, 1835, already alluded to, now became known in the Colony, and had its effect in loosening the affections of the Dutch inhabitants and disgusting the English. The feeling of disappointment and indignation this created was, however, increased by the appointment in question, as it appeared to be the reward of his cruel and unjust evidence. But it was still further augmented by the knowledge that a bill had been smuggled at a late hour through a thin House of the Com-

mons, based upon the same misrepresentations, and which, to make it still more galling, was y'clept, par excellence, "THE CAPE OF GOOD HOPE PUNISHMENT BILL."

ANNO SEXTO & SEPTIMO

G U L I E L M I I V . R E G I S .

CAP. LVII.

An Act for the Prevention and Punishment of Offences committed by His Majesty's Subjects within certain Territories adjacent to the Colony of the *Cape of Good Hope*.

[13th August, 1836.]

Whereas the Inhabitants of the Territories adjacent to the Colony of the *Cape of Good Hope*, to the Southward of the Twenty-fifth Degree of South Latitude, being in an uncivilized state, *Offences against the Person and Property of such Inhabitants and others are frequently committed by His Majesty's Subjects within such Territory with impunity*; for Remedy thereof, be it enacted by the King's Most Excellent Majesty, by and with the Advice and Consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, in this present Parliament assembled, and by the Authority of the same, That the Laws which are now or which shall hereafte be in force in the Colony of the *Cape of Good Hope*, for the Punishment of Crimes therein committed, shall be, and the same are hereby extended and declared applicable to all His Majesty's Subjects within any Territory adjacent to the said Colony, and being to the *Southward of the Twenty-fifth Degree of South Latitude*, and that every Crime or Offence, committed by any of His Majesty's Subjects within any such Territory in contravention of any such Laws, shall be cognizable in any such Courts, and shall be inquired of, tried, and prosecuted, and on conviction punished in such and the same manner as if the same had been committed within the said Colony.

II. And whereas it is necessary to prevent as far as may be the Commission of Crimes by His Majesty's Subjects within such Territories as aforesaid, and to provide for the Arrest, Commitment, and bringing to Punishment of any of His Majesty's Subjects by whom any such Crimes may be perpetrated; be it therefore enacted, That it shall be lawful for the Governor of the said Colony to address to any One or more of His Majesty's Subjects, being within or about to resort to any such Territories as aforesaid, One or more Commission or Commissions, authorizing him or them to exercise within such Territories the Office of a Magistrate for the purpose of preventing the perpetration therein by any of His Majesty's Subjects of any Crimes or Offences, and for the purpose of arrest-

ing, committing to Custody, and bringing to Trial, before such Courts as aforesaid, any of His Majesty's Subjects, charged on sufficient Evidence before him or them with the Commission of any such Crimes or Offences, within any such Territories; and it shall also be lawful to the Governor of the said Colony, by any such Commission or Commissions as aforesaid, to define with all practicable and convenient precision the local limits within which the Jurisdiction of any such Magistrate or Magistrates shall be so exercised, and to which it shall so extend; and within the Limits so to be defined as aforesaid, every such Magistrate shall have, exercise, and enjoy, all such Powers and Authorities over and in reference to His Majesty's Subjects inhabiting or being within the same, as shall by any such Commission or Commissions be specially granted; Provided always, that no such Powers or Authorities shall be so granted by any such Commission or Commissions, save only such as shall be necessary for accomplishing the purposes aforesaid with promptitude and effect.

III. And be it further enacted, That all such Commissions as aforesaid shall be made to continue in force only during His Majesty's pleasure; and the Governor for the time being of the said Colony, shall be, and he is hereby bound and required to transmit a Copy of every such Commission by the earliest opportunity to His Majesty, through one of His Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State, for his approbation or disallowance.

IV. And be it further enacted, *That nothing herein, or in any such Commission or Commissions contained, shall extend, or be construed to extend, to invest His Majesty, his Heirs or Successors, with any Claim or Title whatsoever to Dominion or Sovereignty over any such Territories as aforesaid, or to derogate from the Rights of the Tribes or People inhabiting such Territories, or of Chiefs or Rulers, to such Sovereignty or Dominion.*

V. And be it further enacted and declared, That for the purposes of this Act, any Person lawfully administering the Government of the said Colony shall be deemed and taken to be the Government thereof.

The practical value of this bungling piece of ultra-philanthropic legislation, which at least would require the services of the first astronomer of the age, Sir John Herschel, to fix the exact geographical boundary between the southern and northern line of the 25 degree of latitude, will be seen by the following extract from Mr. Advocate Musgrave's argument before the Supreme Court of the Colony in 1837, when the operations of the enactment came before it. Not a single conviction has taken place under the law, and the Chief Justice

himself was warned at Graaff-Reinet by the Bar, against pronouncing a sentence of Death upon its authority, lest he himself should become thereby involved in a similar charge to that which he was about to try. Lord Glenelg's opinion on the same subject will be seen by an extract from his own despatch of the 29th October, 1837, shortly to be quoted:—

SUPREME COURT, DEC. 23, 1837.

Mr. Musgrave.—I will shew that a man is not a British subject, unless he is a natural born subject; “For murder, committed by a British subject abroad, it is necessary, to convict a man, to prove that he is a British-born subject.” Now the right of granting a warrant, and of convicting, stand upon the same footing, and your lordships are bound to inquire in the first instance, and demand reasonable evidence on this point. I contend that no person is amendable under that Act, unless he is a British-born subject, and consequently the Parliament must make an alteration if they wish to touch that class of persons against whom the Act was directed. The law of allegiance has undergone vast alterations. The rule is, that *allegiance and protection are inseparable*; and if you *cannot protect* a man as a British subject, you *cannot punish* him as such.

[Here the learned Advocate quoted some cases.]

Justice Menzies.—In the late war, there was a British sailor taken out of an American ship and hung.

Mr. Musgrave.—We are not fond of trying the point, though I would refer your lordships to Harrison’s Digest, page 1184, “If a body of persons assemble together to protect themselves, and support their own independence, and make laws, and have Courts of Justice, that is evidence of their being a State; and it makes no difference whether they formerly belonged to another country, or not, if they do not continue to acknowledge it, and are in possession of a force sufficient to support themselves in opposition to it.”

Chief Justice.—What is the meaning of “strong enough to resist?” They must prove that position.

Mr. Musgrave.—To apply this, I need only refer your lordship, to the manifestoes recently put forth by the Emigrant Farmers, from which it would appear, they have formed something like a government beyond the colony. If Retief’s proclamations are to be believed, he has a whole standing army at his disposal; and I have occasion to know, that they have established Courts of Justice, as one of my learned brethren here has had an offer of the Chief Justiceship. If, then, the British Government acknowledges

that "might is right," and as it has acknowledged, on this ground, the independence of the American States, *I say, that Retief and his adherents are independent of our laws.*

Chief Justice.—That applies to a mass of men; but how would it apply to an individual of that mass? A body of men may be independent, on your reasoning, when they are strong enough to protect themselves, but if an individual is caught and brought into the colony does the protection of the mass apply?

Mr. Musgrave.—If it were a question under Retief's laws, he might raise the point of "state, or no state." I applied this to throw light on the change which the law of allegiance has undergone. The general principle is laid down in "Bingham's Reports, 432, Yusari versus Clement." This case follows up the principle, 2 Knopp's Appeal Cases, 311.

Justice Menzies —If, then, a British subject were found plotting in another state against the life of Queen Victoria, do you not say he would be guilty of treason?

Mr. Musgrave.—If you are able to catch him and bring him to trial. This case shews that under the existing law a man may sustain the two characters of a French and a British subject at the same time. I would now refer your lordships to Haggard's Report 99, to shew that a Dutchman, having owned allegiance to Her Majesty here while a resident in the colony, ceases to do so on crossing the boundary. The case to which I refer was that of an American, who had served in a British military corps, and taken the oath of allegiance to His Majesty, but having been born in America, he was judged to be an American subject. Again, there was in the same case the claim of Mr. M' Ridge, a British-born subject residing at Boston, which called forth observations from Lord Stark, particularly applicable to the present question. So much for the British subject. But there is yet another very formidable obstacle in your lordship's way—since this statute passed, certain treaties have been entered into with some of the native tribes beyond the frontier, in which it is expressly stipulated, that all offences committed within their territories by British subjects, shall be tried in those countries, unless the offenders escape into the colony, when the aid of the local courts may be called in. I think my learned friend will not say, that we, at this time of the day, are to put aside every thing like international law. Are these treaties not binding, and are we not acting, I should say, are we not *unfortunately* acting upon them at this moment? They have a specific enactment in their favor, which refers to them in the preamble, and makes certain provisions in aid of them. If, then, these treaties are in force, and if British subjects are declared triable, under a particular jurisdiction beyond the frontier, will your lordships hold

that there is another jurisdiction, before which they may be tried again? In this act there is an express reservation as to the rights of all persons residing in those countries. This, my lords, is a very grave question. Suppose a British subject to plead before a Kafir Chief that he has been already tried and punished within the colony, would not the chief very naturally reply, "It is true, you have been tried by the Supreme Court; but that cannot avail against the treaty which reserves to me the right to try this offence which was committed within my territories." It is indeed a very grave question; and i'faith it will not do for us, while the Aborigines Committee is sitting, to invade the rights of the Kafirs?

Justice Menzies.—Does it not occur to you that the answer to that is, that although, no doubt, the treaty and the act together lead to great inconvenience, yet that this Court is bound to obey the Act?

Mr. Musgrave.—It cannot be done, my lords, upon public faith, and if we go to war upon a question of that kind, it would be a most unjustifiable war. While the treaty remains in force, a man who has been tried and punished by this Court might afterwards be tried and punished for the same offence by Macomo.

Justice Menzies.—I won't say that. But I won't say that this court may not try a man who has been punished by Macomo. I am not defending the Act. But I say the Court is placed in that predicament.

Mr. Musgrave.—Then there is a direct invasion of the principle that a man's life shall not be twice placed in jeopardy.

Justice Menzies.—But an Act of Parliament may do that tomorrow.

Mr. Musgrave.—At the time the Act was passed the treaties were not in force.

Justice Menzies.—But is not that an argument against the treaties, and not against the Act of Parliament? The Lieutenant-Governor, or the Governor in Council, acting merely in virtue of Instructions under the sign manual, cannot, by any treaty, overturn an Act of Parliament.

The Attorney-General.—The treaties are not ratified by the Crown.

Chief Justice.—They are ratified by the Governor here.

Mr. Musgrave.—There is a local enactment which recites them as being in operation, and consequently confirms them *ad interim*.

'The despair of the Border Farmers, at the projected reversal

of the pacification of the Frontier under Sir Benjamin D'Urban, induced considerable numbers to decide upon immediate removal to where, at least, they would be able to defend themselves against barbarian aggression, if they could not be beyond misrepresentation, but many still lingered under the general impression that there were *legal impediments* to their emigration. These doubts, however, were speedily swept away by the Lieut.-Governor Stockenstrom himself, who on his arrival at Uitenhage, on the 27th August, to take possession of his new Government, in a reply to an address of the inhabitants of that place, which indicated the vicious and unpopular course he was about to pursue, at the same time gave the highest authoritative sanction for the expatriation of the most valuable portion of the Colonial community. He there said—

“Upon one subject I trust you will allow me to touch, as deeply involving the interests of a proportion of our fellow colonists. I allude to the projected emigration of a number of farmers from this colony to the more interior parts of Africa. It is but candid at once to state, that I am not aware of any law which prevents any of His Majesty’s subjects from leaving his dominions, and settling in another country, and such a law, if it did exist, would be tyrannical and oppressive.”

To other addresses from various parts of the Eastern Districts, the replies of His Honor the Lieut.-Governor were couched in terms everything but conciliatory or agreeable. To one from the British settlers of Albany, who at once nobly came forward to ask wherefore he had given evidence so dessonant to what they knew to be the fact, he declined to reply, although it was subscribed by above 400 persons, including all the leading inhabitants ; but what gave the deadliest offence to the Dutch population, and shewed that they had neither to expect justice nor courtesy at the hands of their countryman, was his correspondence with the unfortunate Retief, which is here extracted from the “Graham’s Town Journal” of 17th Nov. 1836. The consequence of these *exhibitions* was a general rush from the colony, and the foundation of all that has since occurred at Natal.

THE ADDRESS OF THE WINTERBERG FARMERS.

The following remarkable and painfully-interesting correspondence has been placed in our hands with a request that we would publish it for general information. We comply with this request the more readily from a long and full knowledge of the writer of most of these documents—and, while we consider Mr. PIETER RETIEF a good representative of the Frontier Farmers, we at the same time view him as one of the most honorable, independent men to be found in this Colony.

On the arrival of the British settlers in 1820 Mr. R. resided in Graham's Town, and was at that time considered the most opulent man in the district of Albany. The kindness with which he received the British Immigrants—the assistance he afforded them—and the interest he took in their early endeavors, will be always remembered by them with gratitude. Unfortunately he was induced to engage in several speculations perfectly incongruous to his customary pursuits; particularly in the erection of extensive military barracks and the government drostdy house, and which ultimately involved him in expensive law-suits, by which he lost a large portion of his property. One disaster followed quickly on the heels of another, and for several subsequent years Mr. R. was reduced from opulence to great pecuniary embarrassment. Latterly his prospects have brightened. Having become the lessee of a corn-farm in the Winterberg division, he has thereby great personal industry attained a considerable degree of comfort, acquired the esteem of his neighbours, and so far the confidence of the government as to be appointed the Field-commandant of that district, in which capacity he has exerted himself greatly to the satisfaction and benefit of the whole community.* It is necessary to offer these brief remarks for the better understanding of the correspondence which follows. The original documents are in Dutch, but they have been rendered into English as literally as the language would admit.

The following, from his Honor, is in reply to a letter addressed to him by Mr. Retief, immediately on his arrival on the frontier:—

Graham's Town, Sept: 6, 1836.

FIELD-COMMANDANT.—Colonel Somerset has had the kindness to send me your letter of the 24th Aug. I am happy to see that you take an interest in the prosperity of your dependents; and this I can tell you, that if all honest sensible men unite in protecting the ig-

*It may be interesting to those, not acquainted with the fact, to state, that Mr. Retief married the widow of the gallant Field-Cornet Greylings, who was treacherously butchered by the Kafirs, whilst endeavoring bravely to defend the elder Stockenstrom against their murderous attack. During the late war a son of this ill-fated man—one of the finest young men in Albany—also lost his life by the assagai of the enemy.

norant against cunning and deception, this country can yet be happy.

Let us thus all, each in his capacity, be faithful, and hoping this from you,

I remain, &c.

(Signed)

A. STOCKENSTROM.

To Mr. PIETER RETIEF.

On the 20th of Sept. Mr. R. had an interview with his Honor in the Kat River Settlement, on which occasion he solicited him to visit his ward, the inhabitants thereof being particularly anxious to meet him to state their grievances personally, as well as to present him with an address which had been prepared and signed by the residents of that neighbourhood. His Honor promised, it is said, to visit them, but instead of doing so he took a circuitous route, contenting himself with transmitting to Mr. R. the following letter :—

Shilo, September 23, 1836.

FIELD-COMMANDANT, — Considering it necessary to travel from hence to Cradock, I shall probably be unable to visit your ward at present, but as I have fully communicated my sentiments to you verbally, you will be easily enabled to make them known to your burghers. They, I believe, all know me. Many years have they been acquainted with my government. From the principles to which I have always clung, I shall not deviate one hair's-breadth ; every one, therefore, knows what he has to expect,—my utmost exertions to promote the prosperity, and the protection of the good, peaceable, and honest, of whom so many surround us, and the rigid punishment of the laws to those who by deeds of blood and injustice, may again place the country in danger. In one word, equal rights to all classes, without distinction. In this I know you and all good men (particularly those who bear the name of "Christian,") will assist me, that we may once more grow and bloom together in peace, and we hope to show that all endeavors to move us from our duty will be fruitless.

With respect to those who intend leaving the colony, I can only say that I cannot prevent them from so doing, and if they could be happier in another country, I would myself advise them to remove ; but I place so much interest in the fate of my countrymen, that I consider it my duty at least to advise them fully to weigh what they undertake, and what the consequences may be to them and their posterity, and not to allow themselves to be led away by the cunning and deception of persons who have nothing but their own interest in view.

I wish you all happiness, and inform you that if any one should wish to speak to me, there will be an opportunity for doing so, at the Baviaan's River.

Your obedient Servant,

(Signed)

A. STOCKENSTROM.

Sept 24 — I have this moment received intelligence that Masselikatse has murdered about 30 of the migratory persons, among whom are women and babes. The remainder are returning to the colony. When will my unfortunate countrymen learn whose advise they ought to take? and what have those to answer for who have misled these unfortunate victims? Do as an honest man, and watch against such deception!

A. S.

To Mr. PIETER RETIEF.

The innuendoes contained in the above communication we are of opinion might well have been spared, without in the least detracting from its merits as an official document. If the meritorious part of the community is deluded by cunning and deception to their ruin—and we may add to the ruin of the country—it is a positive duty in him to whom the public welfare is entrusted, not to deal in insinuations, but to speak out plainly, and to adopt such measures as shall effectually counteract the effect of such infamous machinations. On the return of his Honor to Graham's Town, a few weeks afterwards, a note, enclosing the Address of the farmers of the Winterberg, was transmitted to him, as follows:—

SIR,—Being fully convinced that it will be desirable to your Honor fully to understand the sentiments of the inhabitants, who have now by the hand of Providence been placed under your government—as without such knowledge, it will be impossible for your Honor satisfactorily to carry into effect those benevolent measures which we flatter ourselves your Honor has in contemplation for the prosperity of the country,—I now hand your Honor an address of the inhabitants of my ward; and which, as loyal subjects of the government,—as lovers of their country, and as persons who really desire your happiness, they have prepared and signed accordingly on your Honor's arrival amongst them to assume your duties as their future Lieutenant-Governor.

I remain, Your obedient Servant, &c.

(Signed)

PIETER RETIEF.

His Honor A. STOCKENSTOM.

The following is a translation of the Address, but we are informed that in *pathos*, and earnest simplicity of expression, it is very inferior to the original Dutch :—

To His Honor, ANDREAS STOCKNSTROM, Esq., Lieutenant-Governor of the Eastern Province of the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope :—

SIR,—We, the undersigned, inhabitants of the Winterberg and Koonap, take the liberty to congratulate your Honor on your appointment as Lieutenant Governor for the Eastern Province, and

we hope that the choice of the English government will prove to us that *that choicee* will be productive of favorable results.

We are, however, driven to the necessity, before we take upon ourselves to express our individual joy at this appointment, respectfully to request your Honor to pause for a moment with regard to our sentiments, as we must acknowledge with sorrow and deep regret that our wounded feelings are not to be pacified by outward appearances or fair promises, but that nothing less than *deeds* and *demonstration* will bring us back from the opinions we at present hold. We offer these remarks that it may not be thought that a hidden discontent exists amongst us; but we mention it in passing to remind your Honor of the evidence given by yourself, as well as others, before the House of Commons' Committee, respecting the deeds of cruelty and inhumanity which are stated to have been committed by us,—as in our present circumstances we see ourselves placed in a situation—in consequence of the evidence above alluded to—cut off, as it were, from all hope of brighter prospects for the future. And how, then, Sir, could we, holding such opinions, offer up songs of gladness, in consequence of the elevation of your Honor, if such does not ensure to us some amendment?

We will not trouble your Honor further with a detailed account of all the miseries which we have to contend with, and for the sake of brevity will satisfy ourselves by requesting your Honor to be good enough to clear up to us—who cannot fathom the reasons why we have been presented to the British Government as *monsters of cruelty and barbarity*, or the circumstances which could have held out an inducement for pourtraying us in the above light,—as your Honor must be but too well convinced of the contrary.

We close this our humble Address with the certain assurance, that should your Honor come to the determination of satisfying our minds,—in order to reconcile us and our unfortunate expatriated countrymen to the land of our birth—by clear *proofs* and *actions*—so that we may experience an improvement in our distressed and deplorable circumstances;—then, yes then! will our hearts cry aloud with unfeigned gratitude, “*Blessed be the day of the appointment of our respectable Lieutenant-Governor,—and God be praised that it should have entered the thoughts of His Majesty, the King of England, to send us such happiness!*”

But, alas! our long oppressed and dejected feelings have not yet experienced those hallowed moments to which such heartfelt outpourings can be applied. We, therefore, close this Address, with the solemn assurance, that when we shall experience light and relief, we will then shew our unmixed gratitude, in rendering the task of Ruler as easy as possible to your Honor, with the full conviction that—

Where loyalty and love unite,
 Duty's demands will e'er be light;
 But if suspicion should prevail,
 All hope of union must fail.

| | |
|--|----------------------|
| Pieter Retiet, Field-Commandant. | Robert Sully, |
| Hercules Phillipus Malan, Field-cornet, | P. J. Erasmus, |
| J. H. Viljoen, Provisional Field-cornet, | W. Kloppers, |
| J. Dreyer, | C. Kloppers, |
| C. Dreyer, | G. Dreyer, |
| J. W. Joubert, | Jan Erasmus, |
| M. Viljoen, | G. Van Rooy, |
| W. A. Viljoen, | C. J. Van der Merwe, |
| J. O. Malan, | H. Hattingh, |
| A. C. Botma, | J. M. Hattingh, |
| Pouwel Botha, | L. J. Kloppers, |
| Barend J. de Lange, | W. Potter, |
| Pieter Brits, | D. Viljoen, |
| Jacohus Van de Wad, | G. D. Piek, |
| James Edwards, | D. J. Welgemoed, |
| A. De Waal, | Hendrik Rensburg, |
| J. F. Fourie, | B. S. Van der Linde, |
| Jacobus Potgieter, | P. Botha, |
| J. L. Van de Venter, | J. J. Smith, jun., |
| Pieter Piek, | J. J. Smith, sen., |
| J. A. Botma, sen. | A. D. F. Smith, |
| Jan Daniel Botma, | William Bear, |
| Lucas W. Rensburg, | M. S. de Beer, |
| Hendrik Rensburg, | G. J. Van der Nest, |
| David Petrus de Lange, | A. C. Gryling, |
| Philip Potgieter, | B. C. Gryling, |
| Robert Wesson, | R. J. Painter, |
| Johs. Botma, jun., | J. Botha, |
| Johs Verceuil, | F. J. Durandt, |
| Daniel Jacobus Erasmus, | John Vaughan, |
| J. F. Retief, | Gert Botha, |
| D. J. Erasmus, Dz. | W. J. Botha, |
| | Baltus Piinslo, |
| | H. Klopper. |

This Address was returned to Mr. Retief a few days after its receipt with the following *extraordinary* reply :—

Graham's Town, Oct. 20, 1836.

SIR,—In answer to your letter without date, received this day, I have to state that the Address accompanying it, cannot be accepted, and is therefore returned enclosed herewith.

The only thing that even causes me take so much notice of it, is the conviction that you do not understand the contents thereof,—for a man of your experience and respectability would not advisedly place his signature to a document, the contents of which are directly at variance with truth,—and also contrary to the sentiments expressed by yourself verbally, when, on the 20th ult., at the Kat River, you brought to my recollection atrocities which had been perpetrated on the frontier, and which I had already forgotten.

You are misled,—I, therefore, do not speak in wrath, but with pity, and shall faithfully tell you the truth.

You have allowed yourself to be deluded into the notion that it would be *valiant*, or *Commandant-valiant*, to follow the example of those who have had time to be ashamed of their folly, before you could prevail on sixty-five credulous persons to make themselves equally ridiculous; and as you have even required no less than six weeks for this purpose, you must now already be convinced that our countrymen are beginning to open their own eyes, and are no longer so easily to be led into an abyss as blind men. Let this, therefore, be a lesson to you, and consult henceforth your own common sense, instead of allowing yourself to be dragged along by those who, knowing your weakness, will use you as a tool to their interest, and who will ridicule you when you are fallen.

With respect to those who have signed with you, they have to struggle with so many misfortunes, that it would be cruel to add one word to their reproof. I know too well how those ignorant persons are deceived. Heaven forbid that I should avenge upon one of them the cunning of their seducers. Many of those who have signed think they have paid me a very pretty compliment, and there are few among them who would not follow me through fire and water when occasion required, just because they know that threats, and “songs of praise” or adulation, are alike indifferent to me; and that nothing that can be said, written, or done, will prevent me to lighten their burden, and to advance their happiness as far as lays in my power; at the same time causing you and them to obey the laws under which Providence has placed us.

One word more as a friendly warning: Col. Somerset has placed in my hands copies of your letters to Capt. Armstrong, of the 9th and 12th insts., in which several unbecoming expressions are used. I believe that the situation you occupy is of little value to you; but it would be unpleasant to me to dismiss a man whom I have respected, and whom I consider competent, when he makes use of his sound reason, to lend me a helping hand to bring our country and its inhabitants back to prosperity, and thus to secure to himself the blessing of posterity. But if, on the contrary, you attempt to add one iota to the confusion which you yourself say has so long existed

on the frontier, and threaten to trample the existing regulations under foot,—this unpleasant step will be the inevitable consequence.

Your obedient, humble Servant,
(Signed) A. STOCKENSTROM.

To Mr. PETER RETIEF.

Before the date of the above document, viz., on the 18th October Mr. R. had written to his Honor, giving him a faithful detail of the state of the country in that neighbourhood. The following is a translation of this communication, and also of His Honor's reply. We have inserted these documents in this place, notwithstanding, as our readers will observe, the dates do not follow consecutively with the other correspondence.

Winterberg, Oct. 18, 1836.

SIR,—That your Honor has not visited my ward, as we expected, caused displeasure to my burghers. I have, therefore, not delayed to copy both your letters, and to send them to my Field-cornets, and have spared no trouble to pacify the inhabitants of my ward, by making known to them that we are now on the eve of enjoying a better and secure life. But, notwithstanding all this, I must inform your Honor, with deep regret, that this day ten families, chiefly of my principal burghers, leave my ward to proceed over the boundary, with the utmost grief at being compelled to quit so promising a country, because they cannot conceive that we shall ever have such laws here, as to guarantee us a quiet and secure living. Not the slightest fear exists among them with regard to the recent massacre over the boundaries. They intend to remain a few months at some convenient spot across the boundary, to ascertain whether better laws will be enacted. Their wish is to return if they can but enjoy a quiet and peaceable life here. To give your Honor some idea of the cause of the inhabitants here leading such an insufferable life, is that our country is at present filled with robbers roving about publicly. I have to inform your Honor that from the 10th instant to this date I caused *thirty* coloured persons to be apprehended, mostly Kafirs, going out to plunder, and some caught plundering, and sent them to Capt. Armstrong, at Fort Beaufort; among these are two Kafirs with passes, whom I apprehended, with the greatest suspicion of their being out for the purpose of plundering. I must add to this, that if no protection is granted me to stop the ruin of the country, the abandonment of this colony will be the consequence in my ward.

In expectation that by your good orders we may live in peace,
I remain, &c., &c.,

(Signed) P. RETIEF, Field-Commandant.

His Honor A. STOCKENSTROM, Esq.

Graham's Town, Oct. 26, 1836.

FIELD-COMMANDANT,—Your letter of the 18th inst.. I have only this moment received. Instead of the word “*displeasure*,” you meant “*regret*,” because your burghers are all aware that I myself best know when to visit any part of my Province.

That persons are quitting the colony grieves me, on their own account, because I heartily sympathise with their lot; but as regards the “*promising country*,” the government will take care that it is inhabited speedily enough, as I am daily overwhelmed with memorials.

I again tell you, that if you and your fellow-burghers will be wise under all your misfortunes, I yet see happy days for you in future; but be assured that nothing is to be had from me by threats. I would walk round the world to serve this country, but will not allow myself to be moved one inch out of my road. I speak plainly, because I wish to be understood without the possibility of doubt.

If you have apprehended any person with a pass without sufficient grounds, you will have to thank yourself for the consequences. Until the law is altered you must abide by it.

If my business will allow it, I purpose going to the Gonappe's Church on Saturday—and if I have time, further.

Your obedient Servant,

(Signed)

A. STOCKENSTOM.

Mr. P. RETIEF.

The following reply of Mr. RETIEF contrasts finely with the communications to which it refers, and we should think will teach his Honor that in writing to independent men it is not the best or most politic course to make use of uncourteous language,—still less to shake over their heads, *in terrorem*, the power with which he is invested by the supreme government. His Honor will hardly persuade the public that the writer of this letter did not, as he states understand the contents of the Address which he (Mr. R.) and others had transmitted to him.

Winterberg, 31st Oct., 1836.

SIR,—I have to acknowledge the receipt of both your letters of the 20th and 26th inst., and on which I now calmly sit myself down to reply according to my feelings, *in the full hope and wish that this may be the last correspondence I shall have with your Honor*. I am happy to find your Honor has expressed yourself so plainly, and may, therefore, humbly request you to permit me to do so likewise.

I may truly declare, that your Honor will not find in me the person which you think and say. God knows my feelings, and He

is aware that I cannot believe that your Honor, or any other person, has a more sincere love for this land of our birth, the happiness of its inhabitants,—or a more faithful care and regard for its peace and laws, than I have. And here I may ask, who in this colony has suffered more than I have, from having such sentiments, and who will not at times evince impatience under such calamitous circumstances? Permit me here to put it to your Honor's sound sense, whether in the existing laws and orders of this colony bitter wailing sighs are not daily sent up to the Almighty?

In the full hope that I shall always be found the same, whether before or behind your Honor, I also have to thank my Creator that I feel that faithlessness or dissembling abides not with me. Therefore, to sign Addresses which I do not understand, and which are contrary to truth, has not, or ever will take place with me. What I told your Honor on the 20th ult., at the Kat River, I abide by, that the Chief Burgher officers, and not our Burghers, may be guilty of the blame of Kafir robberies,—as well on the commando made several years ago by your Honor, as on the more recent one of Field-commandant van Wyk; and just because what takes place on such occasions is with the knowledge of their officers, I may again ask, why the innocent are to suffer for the guilty? Your Honor shall never find me to conceal crimes which have been committed to my knowledge whether against white or black.

“*Valiantly*,” or “*Commandant-valiantly*,” to follow foolish examples, I dare to state is not my character. Nor have I persuaded any individual to sign the Address,—much less have I required six weeks to procure those signatures. The reason why one portion of my ward did not sign the Address I may freely state: it is because they had an adviser who thought they would do better to give up *character* for the expected *protection*! This Address, therefore, was already signed on your Honor's arrival at Graham's Town, and would also have been presented immediately, had it not been that your Honor had written me, and also communicated to me verbally, that you would speedily visit my ward. I may add, that if we had had the happiness of seeing and speaking to your Honor in my ward we should most probably have been freed from this unpleasantness. That there are those who would lead the blind into an abyss instead of leading the blind right I consider to be a tax upon the conscience. I am most ready to take lessons of value and merit; but the lesson your Honor gives me on that point, feeling by the evidence of my conscience not to have merited, I do not take to myself. I thank my God also that he has not hitherto allowed me to be used as a “*tool*” for ridicule,—much less to have seduced any person.

Being much pleased that your Honor acknowledges the loyalty

and obedience of our Burghers, I have no doubt but that your honor will endeavor, as far as in your power, to allow these loyal and obedient men to reside under your Honor's government unmolested and protected. Nothing wil give me more pleasure than to see your Honor's government carried on with impartiality and justice.

Although I became impatient at the frequent lamentations of the inhabitants in my ward, I cannot, however, believe that my letters of the 9th and 12th instant, contain any unbecoming expressions.

Your Honor states your belief that the situation I now fill is not worth much to me,—which I do not understand. I must, however, state in the first place, that this situation, in our present circumstances, yields me nothing but a truly careful responsibility, having scarcely a day to devote to my own affairs undisturbed. Secondly—I considered it an office of trust,—thinking, in consequence of my love for my country and the happiness of its inhabitants, to be of some service in the deplorable state of the country. With this feeling only did I accept the situation. It is my earnest wish and desire that your Honor may never be hindered from dismissing me or any other Burgher Officer, on conviction of crime or carelessness in the performance of their duties,—as our Burghers have suffered, and still suffer, from these causes.

Nothing will afford me greater satisfaction than to see myself enabled to lend your Honor a helping hand to ensure our Burghers a better life. I am much pleased to see that Capt. Armstrong has fulfilled his duty as Justice of the Peace by transmitting copies of my letters to higher authorities. Had Capt. A. done so sooner, myself and those connected with me would, probably, have been freed from difficulties which we now suffer.

I understand with deep regret from your Honor's letter of the 26th ult., that instead of having acted right and conscientiously, as I thought, I am accused by your Honor of having held out threats. I understand at the same time that your Honor has not seen my report of the three Kafirs apprehended by me with passes. I, therefore, send it as follows:—The first, with a pass for six or eight days to go to the Kat River, and after the lapse of more than five months, still going about with five others on that pass, was apprehended by the Field-cornet Viljoen, and brought before me, but could not inform me upon what they had subsisted for more than five months. The second, with a pass for one month to go to the Kaga, to fetch two goats, a few days before that pass expired was apprehended by the Field-cornet Malan, in the Koroeme Bush, in the mountain; being eight persons together, and employed in building huts, and without the least prospect other than to live by plunder. The third with a pass from Capt. Campbell, on arriving at the farm

of the Field-cornet Malau, stole there four sheep and goats. It is now for your Honor to decide whether I acted right or wrong.

Permit me, Sir, in conclusion, again to remind your Honor of my declaration to you at the Kat River ; how happy we find ourselves to have your Honor as our Lieutenant-Governor ; and that the only obstacle between us may be entirely removed by but five or six words. Your Honor, therefore, knows my earnest wish, and I conceive fully to understand your's. I trust that God will grant that we may speedily, on both sides, accomplish the desired object, by seeing that obstacle removed. What will then hinder me, with an unclouded conscience, to lend you Honor a faithful helping hand to the utmost of my power, to enable you to attain your declared object for country and people, and for your Honor personally ?

I have the honor to remain, &c. &c.

(Signed) P. RETIEF.

To His Honor Andries Stockenstrom, &c. &c. &c.

P. S.—On the receipt of your Honor's letter, I instantly recalled my issued orders for the protection of my ward, not to commit myself further to your Honor's threats.

P. R.

To this manly, straightforward, and affecting communication his Honor transmitted the following reply :—

Klippaat, the 12th Nov., 1836.

SIR,—On my arrival from Kafirland yesterday I received your's of the 31st ult , and have nothing against it,

I have nothing in the least in my bosom against you, I saw that you were misled ; it was my duty to bring you right, and here it ends. I know that you may contribute much towards the tranquility and happiness of the country, and also towards disquietude and misfortune, Should you choose the first you will have me as a supporter and friend ;—if you choose the other, then keep yourself to those who will rejoice in your downfall when they have attained their object of self-interest. But I hope better. The Almighty has blessed you with abilities, and by that means given you an influence which you will not use to the downfall of your mother country, after you will have once seen the most dangerous enemies of that country unmasked.

I have this day heard that you are also about to quit the colony. Perhaps you may be of service to your fellow-burghers over the boundary and assist them with good counsel. I pity you all, but wish you prosperity and the protection of the Almighty. Wherever you may roam forget not, and remind your compatriots, that you are Christians, and as such have heavy responsibilities.

Your obedient servant and well-wisher,

(Signed) A. STOCKENSTROM.

Mr. P. Relief.

His Honor having charged Mr. Retief with having used unbecoming expressions in communications made by him to Capt. Armstrong, the Commandant and Magistrate at Fort Beaufort,—he has furnished us with the whole of this correspondence, with request that we would give it publicity. We do so the more readily as it will shew clearly the deplorable state of the country, and the intolerable difficulties which, under the present system, the border farmers have to struggle with.

Winterberg, Oct. 9, 1836.

SIR,—Enclosed you will receive an order for ammunition, and I trust that Colonel Somerset, according to promise, will have written you more particularly. As my burghers must be continually out on patrol, and are obliged to keep watch in their kraals at night, I must request you to be kind enough to send the ammuition over in a wagon. I also enclose you a list of the burghers of my upper ward; to those of the lower part I have written to receive personally from you, and trust that Field-cornet van Aard will hand you a list of his burghers; be so good and send it me as soon as possible. The day before yesterday we took 30 draught oxen and 9 breeding cattle from the Kafirs, which they had stolen from Isaac Roberts at the Mancanzana; one ox they had killed, and a cow was severely wounded. I have also two horses here which were taken from two Kafirs the day before the above. I expect this day a general return of cattle stolen lately, and will forward the same to you by post.

I have to inform you that my Field-cornets have applied to me, to know how they are to conduct themselves in respect to the intolerable plunder of their cattle out of their kraals at night. Not being supplied with the necessary orders, I have taken it upon myself to issue orders to them to shoot whoever may disturb them at night, by taking their property out of their kraals, upon which I expect your speedy answer.

I must further inform you that I can no longer allow Kafirs, with or without passes, to pass in my ward, and also Mantatees and Fingoes without passes; and have thought proper to make it known in my ward that such are to be apprehended and brought before me, of which I will give you notice, in expectation of better protection for those subjects entrusted to your and my care, and who are at present living in a most deplorable condition. I wish to know if it be true that the Mantatee whom I sent to you a prisoner, with the report of the crime committed by him, has been liberated in the Kat River.

As it is inconvenient for me to confine prisoners here at night,

without prison or hand-cuffs, I have, therefore, to request you to send me one or two.

Your obedient Servant,
 (Signed) P. RETIEF, Field-Commandant.
 A. B. Armstrong, Esq.

Fort Beaufort, 13th Oct., 1836.

DEAR SIR,—I have received your letters, and forwarded translations of them to Colonel Somerset. I have given orders for a supply of ammunition to be forwarded according to the quantity as directed by Col. Somerset, and as specified in his letter to me, which you were so good as to forward me. Without Col. Somerset's orders, I cannot send you more.

Your exertions in apprehending Kafirs without passes have been very great, and shows you have been on the alert. I am confident Col. Somerset and the Lieutenant-Governor also, will adopt measures for prohibiting this great influx of Kafirs amongst the farmers in your neighbourhood; but I must, in the mean time, beg you will upon no account interrupt Kafirs who have passes.

With regard to the conduct of your patroles, the protection of your kraals, &c., Capt. Jervis, commanding, will be able to furnish you with a perusal of the frontier orders, as also a copy of the 49th and 73d Ord., which is all the information afforded me upon these subjects.

If you mean the Mantatee prisoner who was deranged, he has been sent to me; I have forwarded him to Graham's Town, from whence he will be sent on to Cape Town, as a lunatic. I will send a requisition for you to Capt. Campbell for hand-cuffs. If you ask Mr. Harding to write you one in English, I will approve it; you must sign it. State in the body of the requisition, that from the number of landloopers wandering about your part of the country you cannot keep them in safe custody when apprehended, unless supplied with hand-cuffs.

Yours truly,

A. B. ARMSTRONG.

I have given Field-cornet Christian Vanard his complement of ammunition.

To Field-Commandant Retief, Winterberg,

Winterberg, 16th Oct. 1836.

SIR,—I have to acknowledge your letter of the 13th inst., by which I learn that I am not to apprehend any Kafirs having passes. Am I then to understand that if I, or my patrols in my ward, find Kafirs with passes for six or eight days, with which they wander about plundering for six months,—if we find Kafirs with passes for

quite a different ward, and these are occupied in woods and hills in my ward building huts and congregating together, without any other prospect than solely to live by plunder, as I have sent and reported to you,—let me then now understand you clearly, am I not to cause such to be apprehended and sent to you ? Is this to be the consequence ? Then I must tell you plainly that we would do better at once to give up the little we yet have to subsist upon to the robbers spread all over the country, than to trouble ourselves further to remain masters of our property. And then I must ask you, whether we are to lead this barbarous life, or how we are to live ? It is quite impossible for us to execute our daily labor, and then to watch against robbers both day and night.

I may also ask, why we are to endure the grief and vexation, that after the Kafirs have despoiled us of kindred and property, they are suffered to come to us, not only to rob us of the little that we yet have to subsist upon, but to taunt us in our impoverished situation ; and to pride themselves upon the deeds of murder, fire, and plunder committed by them ? What father or mother will silently endure this ? And what deplorable deeds may not this give rise to ? I, therefore, find myself under the necessity to state, that as long as I am to serve as a preserver of the peace and happiness of this ward, I must set myself against this influx ; and if I am to suffer it, I shall be compelled to resign, not to burden my conscience with such weighty responsibility to the Almighty.

The indifference is to me incomprehensible, that by giving such passes *our* peace and happiness are not once thought of ! It is also incomprehensible to us that there exists such weakness as to believe that the Kafirs, after they have robbed us of every thing, can yet have any claim upon us, and to grant them passes accordingly. From fear that *we* may injure the Kafirs, we are prohibited from personally going to them, to demand the restitution of our plundered property ; but there appears to be no fear lest *we* should be injured by the influx of Kafirs into the colony.

As a lover of the public peace and prosperity, I trust in future to see that all Kafirs who have claims, or otherwise, on persons on our side, will not be allowed to proceed further than your post, and the persons required be summoned to your presence, and the case or question be decided before you. In acting thus it will be seen whether so many passes will be asked as at present.

I will console myself, and those connected with me, yet for a short period in our dejected situation, in expectation that our Lieutenant-Governor will soon let us see in deeds that which I have understood from His Honor both verbally and in writing : but if it be that we may not experience our long-expected wish of a better life, then I believe that with the greatest regret the abandonment of the colony will be the consequence,

Col. Somerset, in giving the order for gunpowder which has been sent to you, stated that he trusted I would ask only as much gunpowder from you, as I considered necessary for my ward, and which I have done. I will not anticipate that from distrust no more than 1lb. will be ordered me. He who is not trusted cannot be a faithful servant. Heartily do I wish to know whether it is from distrust or any other cause, that we cannot procure a small quantity of gunpowder without so much trouble. Did I not see my subordinate burghers plunged into poverty, I would no longer ask, but cause it to be purchased. Well may I wish that it be more taken into consideration that we are inhabitants of a disturbed frontier, and that, next to GOD, we must depend upon our ammunition.

I trust I have discharged my duty to you as Justice of the Peace, and expect that you will do likewise.

I have the honor to be, &c.,

(Signed)

P. RETIEF, Field-Commandant.

21st Oct., 1836.

DEAR SIR,—I send you 152 lbs. loose powder, and a proportion of lead, also flints. The Kafir and Fingoe prisoners arrived here, but not the Hottentot man and woman; the escort said they knew nothing about them.

With respect to passes, and the apprehension of Kafirs with or without them, I beg leave to refer you to Capt. Jervis, commanding at Winterberg, who has been fully informed upon all these points.

I wish in cases of thefts alleged against Kafirs, Fingoies, or Hot-tentots, that you would send the evidences against them to me, as well as the prisoners, as soon after as possible, as it is not advisable to detain a prisoner above 48 hours in custody without a charge being preferred against him.

I remain, &c.,

A. E. ARMSTRONG.

To Field-Commandant Retief, Winterberg.

We have only to add to these melanchaly statements, that Mr. Retief has resolved to abandon the colony—to expatriate himself from the land of his birth—and to join his countrymen in what we must ever view as a rash and imminently dangerous experiment—that of penetrating the wilds of the interior, and exposing themselves to the attacks of innumerable hordes of savage barbarians.

To return to Natal itself.—The imprudent treaty with Dingaan, made by Capt. Gardiner relative to the surrender of fugitives, seems to have encouraged Dingaan to demand its entire fulfilment, and thus keep the settlement in a continual state of excitement. Upon a remonstrance of the Zoola chief,

regarding some of his subjects, said to have been enticed to desert and harbored by the whites, the following proceedings took place :—

Port Natal, June 20th, 1836.

“ At a meeting of the residents of Port Natal, Victoria, held this day, and to which the whole of the natives had been duly summoned ;

“ Present,—Rev G. Champion, Dr. A Adams,* Messrs. Cane, Ogle, Pickman, Blankenbergh, Carden, Stubbs, Wood, Lake, Isaacs, King, White, Holstead, Toohey, and Steller.

“ Mr. J. Cane, on being called to the chair, read to the meeting a letter from the Rev. Aldin Grout, and signed by Messrs. Kew and Russell, at the Togala River, informing him that the army of Dingaan had assembled and marched, but that the destination was for the present unknown ; and also stating that the entrance of the whites into the Zoola territory had been denied, on account of the people of Natal inducing the subjects of the King Dingaan to desert. That a man in the employ of Mr R. Biggar had a few days prior gone into one of the Zoola villages armed with a musket and bayonet, and taken from them by force some people, claiming them as his relations : and that another man in the employ of the same person had also made a similar attempt ;—that the King’s messenger had left to inform his master, highly excited, as doubtless Dingaan would be the same ; and stating it as their joint opinion that nothing but the restoration of deserters would restore the whites in the confidence of the King Dingaan.

“ After which it was unanimously resolved,—

“ 1.—That all those who have recently absconded from the territory of Dingaan, be collected and returned, with an agent from the people of Natal, who shall be the bearer of a communication from them and signed by them—all assuring Dingaan of their disposition to fulfil the obligations of the treaty entered into while Capt. Gardiner was here ; and that Dr. Adams and John Cane be empowered to present the same to Dingaan.

“ That any person residing in Port Natal, or its vicinity, detected in aiding or assisting any subject of Dingaan in escaping from their own territory, shall be arrested and sent to Dingaan, without any distinction of person whatever.

“ 3.—That no native residing with us or amongst us, be permitted to cross the Togala River, unless in the company of a white man, who will be held responsible to Dingaan and the people of Natal for his or their conduct.

* Dr. Adams, and the Rev. G. Champion, are two intelligent and pious American Missionaries, still settled at Natal.

" 4.—That every native, or any fugitive or stranger, arriving at the village in which he resides, shall within 24 hours report to the white man under whose protection he has placed himself, or in his absence to some other white man, such arrival, under the forfeiture of the one half of the whole of his property.

" 5.—That any native aggrieved by the conduct of any white man, may report his case to any other white resident, who, if he think the case sufficiently serious, shall call a meeting of the whites present at Natal, to investigate the merits of the case, and we pledge ourselves to abide by their decision.

" 6.—That a committee of nine members be thus appointed to form a committee of public safety, and in case of actual invasion, we collectively and individually pledge ourselves to obey its decrees.

" The above resolutions were then read and explained to the assembled natives, in the presence of all the white people, who were at the same time informed, that they this day witnessed our unanimity, and that it was our firm determination to enforce these our resolutions, with the greatest rigor.

Subsequently, however, both traders and missionaries were forced to yield full obedience to the savage mandates of the barbarian chief, and involve themselves in that despot's quarrels.

The first compact party of Dutch emigrants who left the Colony determined to settle down beyond its limits, was under the guidance of a Louis Trechard, an Albany Farmer, shortly after the cessation of the Kafir war. They located themselves in a fertile and uninhabited tract between the 26° and 27° parallel of S. Latitude on the eastern bank of a large and beautiful river. The fate of this unfortunate pioneering expedition was ascertained on a visit of the *Comet*, a vessel which visited De la Goa Bay in June of this year :—

" At Delagoa Bay we met with the unhappy remains of Louis Trechard's party, consisting when they left the colony of 13 families. Only two married men, Trechard and his son, survived the ravages of war and the destructive influence of the climate. Some widows and children remain, but nearly all the party, Trechard and his son excepted, are afflicted with the fever incident to the climate. Many have been carried off by it, and in the short space of three weeks that the *Comet* was in the harbour, three souls passed into eternity. About a week before we arrived, Louis Trechard's wife

died, and the son's wife was buried while we were there at her side. We left nearly all sick, without any hope of help from man, and as there is no one at the bay who has any knowledge of medicine. The Portuguese are very kind to them. They sent an escort to conduct them to the town, where houses are freely opened for their reception. About nine families separated from Trechard, and every soul of them was murdered by the savage tribes through which they passed, particularly by that of Sochangan, a chief tributary to Dingaan. Trechard's party was attacked by the Mantatees and other tribes at five different times, generally in the night, but they escaped without loss. I saw the bow and poisoned arrows of a chief of the Mantatees, whom young Trechard shot, a body of 60 having fallen on them in the night. One would think that surely these dispensations of providence ought to make them look back with deep regret on their unhappy and unadvised pilgrimage. Trechard the son, was anxious to join his fellow-countrymen, and fight with them. He would have taken his passage to Natal, if the captain had determined to touch there. They have immense flocks and herds; still their condition was truly pitiable; indeed it was almost hopeless, as there is every reason to expect that they will all die, one after another, of the fever."

The few survivors were afterwards removed to Natal by sea.

About the end of May two parties, headed by J. G. S. Bronkhorst and H. Potgieter, left the camp formed by some of the emigrants on the Vet River, one of the tributaries of the Ky Gariep, for the purpose of exploring the country to the N E., of which journey, and of the first repulse the emigrants met with from the natives under Malzellikatze the following is Bronkhorst's own relation:—

On the 24th May I departed from the Sand River, accompanied by the Burghers, Roelof Jansen, Laurens Jansen van Vuuren, Charel Cilliers, and Abraham Zwanepoel; together with another group, consisting of the Burghers, H. Potgieter, J. Roberts, Adrian de Lange, Daniel Opperman, H. Mieuwenhuisen, and Christian Liebenberg. From the Sand River we travelled through a grass field 12 *schofts** and came to a ridge, which we, on finding the real sugar cane there, called the *Suikerbosch-rand*; fuel was scarce. From thence we proceeded four schofts further, and reached the Oliphant's River; here was no fuel whatever, but abundance of water and grass, the grass being sour, but still good for pasture. Two schofts from

* Schofts, the plural of schoft, a day's journey.

there we arrived at the Rhenoster Poort on the Rondberg ; here the country is rugged, with sweet and sour grass, stocked with thorn trees. From thence we travelled 2½ schofts through grass fields, and came to a rugged plain, covered with all kinds of grass, until we came to the Zoutpansberg in 13 schofts, where we found a salt-pan. At the Rhenoster-poort we met the first nation, called Mantatees. At the Zoutpansberg we met the Burgher Louis Trechard, and company, all in good health. Proceeding on our journey we saw at the distance of two schofts from Trechard, trees, the leaves whereof I cannot describe as they were blooming and very young ; they sprouted from the ground with a thick trunk, and are the size of an oak ; the trunk of these trees have many roots ; from the tree itself many roots issue, descending downwards, entwining themselves to the body of the tree, as if they were tied to it, until they are again rooted into the ground ; the trees bear no fruit,—the bark is white. It is supposed that each branch of the tree produces a sprig, straight or oblique, as it grows.

About three schofts from thence we found another tree, yielding a fruit resembling a cocoa nut or gourd, the peel having also a similar appearance ; the fruit is hollow inside ; the kernel cannot be distinguished from cream of tartar, it being of the same stuff and taste; the tree has a large size ; we measured one and found it to be of 13 fathoms in circumference, and 20 feet high to its crown ; the tree had no leaves ; the bark and wood had much the appearance of a *Spek-boem*. Proceeding further we saw several other trees with and without fruit, and amongst others a tree serving the people of the country for food and drink ; it is a large tree resembling an oak, having a green bark like that of a peach tree ; the leaf I cannot describe, as it resembles no known one, but has something of a yellow-wood tree ; the fruit is like a cherry ; we did not taste it, as being unripe ; we saw the people chop off branches, from which a liquid issued which they caught in basins ; they cook buffalo skins to glue, mix it with the liquid, and it becomes a sort of curdled milk which they use : they also make a sort of beer from it. We also found a tree, much like that of an apricot, its fruit having a great resemblance to a lentil, the stone and pod having a similar appearance, but larger ; the stone is soft ; it has the true smell of turpentine, and is oily. I must also mention that we found the banana tree 1½ schofts from Trechard, along the river and at other places in abundance ; it is the real banana ; we also found a large grove of bamboo growing in abundance and luxuriant ; the above grove is half an hour's ride on horseback in circumference. 9 schofts from Trechard we reached a river of running water, about 2 feet deep, and 1780 paces broad ; the banks of the river are stocked with trees which I cannot describe ; they are beautiful—they are large ; the lower part of the trunk is smooth until where its branches issue ;

under its shade 6 or 7 wagons may be placed ; it has a small green leaf, the fruit resembles an acorn, but was then unripe. One schoft from there we again crossed a large river, and found similar trees ; thence we proceeded 6 schofts farther, and came to the Knopneus (Knob nose) Caffers, being, with the exception of one, the last Caffer Captain ; they pointed to a town about 6 schofts from there ; we also spoke with the servants of the town inhabitants, who came there to barter elephant's teeth for beads, linen, and other wares ; they also informed us of there being ships waiting for elephants' teeth. The people from that town spoke Portuguese. They said that our approach was known in their town. These men were glad of our arrival, and shewed us much respect, fell upon their knees, clapped with the hands on saluting us, and offered us lasting peace. From there we returned, as our horses and oxen began to give up. The Caffers accompanied us a great way, and showed us a road much nearer than the one we came. It is a defenceless and unwarlike people, always flying before their assailants ; many perish from want. They state having been robbed of their cattle by Matselikatze. We likewise met there two sons of Coenraad Buis, named Doris and Karel, they received their ammunition from that Town. The Kafirs called us Dutchmen, in their language, Magaos. The above are, to the best of my knowledge, a few particulars of the country we have travelled through. The climate is rather hot, and little difference between summer and winter, vegetables growing every where spontaneously and luxuriously. We were there in the month of July ; saw all kinds of fruit in full growth and blossom, and got from the gardens sweet-potatoes, millets, and various vegetables. There is abundance of water to irrigate the ground, and one might also say not sufficient land for the number of fountains ; a large town might be founded if there were a sufficient number of inhabitants ; each erf might have its own supply of water. Everything offers the finest opportunity for a settlement. Timber is abundant, the waste land large and extensive, so that thousands of families might subsist, it being also well adapted for breeding of cattle. We further found among the Mantatees a great quantity of iron forged by themselves ; the iron is of good quality, and mixed with steel ; they pointed to a small ridge to the south, where they melt, forge, and make spears of it, and then barter it to the Knopneus (Knobnose) Caffers for beads and other wares. The people also showed us a mine, from which they extract gold, and make rings, which I have seen ; we have also brought some of the ore with us ; this mine is just opposite the camp of Louis Trechard on the Zoutpansberg. We also found at the first nation we fell in with good tin, which they extract from the Randberg and make rings of, calling it white iron. At Oliphant's River we saw banks of a kind of stuff resembling leaves, having the color of silver ; it is

tough, and hard to separate, but I did not see anything forged or melted from it. There is also all kinds of game. From the Suikerbosch-rand we saw elephants all along our route. At the Vaale and Oliphant's Rivers we saw numbers of rhinosceros, buffalos, sea-cows, and black bucks with white bellies, a white stripe on the buttocks, and a star on the head, they are of the size of a hartebeest (deer); likewise cross-breed koedoes and gemsbucks; also the red buck and other known game in abundance.

We returned to our Camp, and reached it on the 2d September, but found it in a sad state. When we were a third part of a schoft on this side of Trechard, we sent five men, named C. Liebenberg, R. Jansen, A. de Lange, D. Opperman, and A Zwanepoel, in advance to get fresh relays. Coming to the first camp they saw a wagon in the river; D. Opperman rode thither while the others off-saddled, and on coming there he saw two wagons fastened together; he returned with the tidings that our camp presented a bloody scene; they all then rode thither, and found Mr. Liebeuberg, Sen., and the wife of H. Liebenberg lying dead; there were also several corpses which they could not identify. They returned to us the same afternoon with this sad account; five of us then rode thither, and found the killed to be B. Liebenberg, Sen., Johannes du Toit and wife, H. Liebenberg, Jun. and wife, S. Liebenberg and a male child, MacDonald a schoolmaster, and a son of C. Liebenberg. We then could do nothing there followed the spoer of our camp, and reached it the third day; we found the survivors and part of our cattle. The account here was equally melancholy. My son, G. Bronkhorst, R. J. Bronkhorst, and a son of Christian Liebenberg, named Barend, were missing, and not yet found. We found the son of Christian Harmse killed; we then learnt how the sad disaster had occurred: they began by killing Stephanus Erasmus, who, with 8 others, were shooting at a distance; four of them escaped, namely, Stephanus Erasmus and son, and Pieter Bekker and son; and 2 sons of Erasmus, Johannes Clasens, and Karel Kruger, are misslng; the Caffers took all their wagons and goods; they attacked us without the least provocation; Erasmus brought the first report that the Caffers were murdering. Ten of us then rode towards them, sueing for peace, but the Caffers drove them back to the camp; the killed persons were separate, and not in the great camp; a party of Caffers divided and murdered them, while the other party fought against the camp.

There were only 35 men in the camp who fought against the Caffers. They succeeded in repulsing them, killing several. Thence we retreated four schofts backwards to this side of the Vaal River, where the Caffers attacked us a second time. The Mantatees informed us three days previous that the Caffers of Matzelikatz were pursuing us, some of whom went to spy but did not discover them;

the next day 35 men left the camp, and met the Caffers (about 9,000) an hours' distance on horseback from the camp; we sued for peace through an interpreter, shewing them our hair, as a sign that we did not wish to war with them, and that they should retire: they cried out no, and attacked us immediately, while we retreated, fighting to the camp, where a peace-flag was set up. We reached the camp sooner than the enemy, and had scarcely time to clean our guns; they had in the mean while approached our camp to within 500 paces; halted, killed two of our oxen, and consumed them raw. Ferociously and with great cries they stormed the camp, but could not enter as the wagons were drawn into a circle, and the openings closed with thorn branches;—between the wagon wheels and above the coverings we were obliged to shoot them, to prevent their entering. We conquered and repulsed the enemy after a great loss on their side, while we had two killed and twelve wounded. More than 1000 assegais were found in the camp. The killed are Nicholaas Potgieter and Piet Botha. This took place on the 29th October, 1836, when we lost 6000 head of cattle, and 41,000 sheep and goats. Our horses we retained from having been in the camp.

Three days after this we followed them to try whether we could retake any of our cattle, but all we found were killed and skinned (about 1000 head), and were obliged to return unsatisfied.

What I have here related are facts, and am willing, if required, to confirm the same on oath.

(Signed)

J. G. S. BRONKHORST,

The barbarities of the natives on this occasion, inflicted upon the poor self-expatriated farmers and their families, were horrible:—

"Not even satisfied with stabbing their welted broad-spears into the bosoms of unresisting women, or piercing the bodies of infants who clung to them, they cut off the breasts of some of the women, and took several of the poor little helpless babes by the heels and dashed out their brains against the iron bands of the wagon wheels."

It was no wonder, therefore, that atrocities like these should be visited with a fearful retribution.

A portion of the emigrants now remained with the wreck of their late flourishing camp, whilst others placed their wives and children under the protection of the Rev. Mr. Archbell's missionary station at Thaba Unchu for a short period, and then fell back upon a new station at the source of the Modder

River. Here they were soon reinforced by a large party under Gert Maritz, a wealthy Burgher of Graaff-Reinet, who had been elected Governor-General. The number of emigrants, at this time assembled around Thaba Unchu, is computed at above eighteen hundred souls.

These attacks by Malzelikatze have been attempted to be excused, as arising from precautionary measures on his part, against the ravages of a notorious and successful freebooter, Jan Bloem, and other predatory bands of *Griquas*, and have also been defended on the ground that the emigrants had entered territories of right belonging to the chief, and by a route which he had warned them not to take. This, however, is not the case: they were attacked in a direction opposite to that in which the freebooter and his clans were accustomed to approach--full fifteen days' march from the residence of Malzellikatze--away from any part of the country over which he claimed authority, either by occupancy or conquest, a conquest too, by the bye, which he had only lately achieved, after relentlessly butchering all its inhabitants--the mild and timid Bechuanas. The right of the Boers, therefore, to this territory were not inferior to his own in the period or manner of acquisition.

The close of the year 1836 saw Lieut.-Governor Stockenstrom occupied in the total reversal of Sir Benjamin D'Urban's measures--signing the most mischievous treaties with the Kafir chiefs, based, as they were, upon the false assumption that they were really justified in the late invasion and cruelty of the retaliatory war, into which the Colony had been forced. Moreover, actually rewarding them for their late atrocious conduct, by surrendering a large portion of territory, ceded by the Kafirs in 1819, from which however was *carefully excepted* that part, including His Honor's own landed property, the magnificent Kaga estate, the first slice ever granted to a Colonist out of what he now affected to consider Kafir possessions.

The treaties, too, which the Lieut.-Governor then entered into with the chiefs, and which, when he left Cape Town, he had been only authorized *to prepare and frame for reference to the Council*, he madly and impertinently at once concluded, by placing the tribes in possession of the lands he had ceded without that reference ; so that there remained nothing for the supreme government at the Cape to do but to ratify them or incur the risk of a renewal of hostilities—an event which would have been immediately taken advantage of by the anti-colonial party and been ruinous to the Colony.

That the abrogation of the D'Urban system of relations with the Kafir tribes, would be followed by dissatisfaction and an extensive migration from the Colony, Sir Benjamin himself predicted *three several times*, so that ignorance of the probable result of the reversal of his measures cannot be pleaded by those (whether the home or local government) who have hurried on the present fearful crisis. In a despatch of Sir Benjamin's to Lord Glenelg occur the following important passages :—

I shall await the arrival of Lieut.-Governor Stockenstrom, without proceeding any further than to obey that portion of your Lordship's commands in the despatch which directs me to prepare the public mind for the relinquishment of the newly acquired province by the end of the present year ; an information, indeed, scarcely necessary, since the intention of your Lordship in that regard seems to have been known here (I have reason to believe *through the medium of the London Mission*) before I had received your Lordship's despatch of December last on the subject.

That this will be speedily followed by *an extensive abandonment* of Albany and Somerset on the part of the farmers, as in my despatch of the 19th June, 1835, and 23d March last, I see too much ground for believing. They had considered themselves left without protection for several years previous to the Caffer War in the end of 1834, in the middle of which year they had been rendered still less secure by the abrogation of the Ordinance No. 99, and they were much excited by the Slave Emancipation Act, but *they still lingered* in the hope of their grievances being remedied, when the war banished all these heart-burnings for the moment.

After the proclamation annexing the country between the Keiskamma and the Kye to the Colony, *seeing in that measure a*

promise of more efficient protection, *they relinquished generally their purpose of emigration*, and awaited events, hoping compensation for their losses, or compensation for their slaves and for greater security of person and of property. Very soon, however, one of the colonial journals (the *Commercial Advertiser*, already adverted to in the earlier part of this despatch) asserted that this change of boundary would not be confirmed by His Majesty's government, and these assertions were otherwise disseminated by the party of which that paper is the organ.

These reports appear again to have awakened the apprehensions of the border farmers and disposed them to *resume their intentions of emigration*. Still they have awaited, and still hoped for some intimation that their losses would receive compensation; but now when they well know that the new province is actually to be renounced at the end of the year, and despair (as they well may, since no hope has been afforded them from His Majesty's government) of any compensation for their losses, *they will assuredly again prepare to go away, and the order for evacuating Adelaide will be the signal for their departure to seek their fortunes in the interior of the country.*

I have long endeavored, by every means in my power, to combat this propensity by persuasions spread among them through the medium of Colonel Somerset and others known to have influence over them, (FOR YOUR LORDSHIP IS DOUBTLESS AWARE THAT THERE IS NO LEGAL POWER TO DETAIN THEM AGAINST THEIR WILL) and these persuasions have induced them to delay the execution of their designs and hitherto still to await events. But the feeling of insecurity in the FISH RIVER BOUNDARY, to which I have especially adverted in my despatch of the 19th June, *will at once cause an extensive emigration*, along the whole Albany and Somerset border, or I am much mistaken.—*Vide return Caffer War, ordered by the House of Commons to be printed, 12th July 1837.*

It is sufficiently well known, too, that Sir Benjamin D'Urban, when the treaties of the Lt.-Governor, Sir A. Stockenstrom, entered into in December, 1836, were in preparation, had disapproved of them altogether, and raised his voice, although ineffectually, against them. 1. That he then denounced the whole system which they embraced, as one which would infallibly involve the border provinces again in all the troubles, and the perils of life and property, which had preceded the war of 1834—5, and as a course of policy which,

assuredly as certain causes must produce certain effects, was pregnant with insecurity, disorder, and danger.

2. That he exposed the fallacy of the main principle, upon which the Treaties were founded, the abandonment, namely, of the old Eastern frontier line of the Keiskamma and Chu-mie, as it had existed since 1819—the substitution, first, of that of the Fish and Kat Rivers—the virtual renunciation of British sovereignty and dominion in the country between those lines of rivers—the introduction of the Kafir hordes of the Amakosa to locations upon the very banks of the latter, and the establishment of the permanent residence of these savage and predatory people in the forests through which they run, skirting the new Colonial Frontier, and in close contact with it along its whole extent.

3. That he had disapproved their provisions as not comprehending those securities* which he had regarded as indispensable, and had accordingly urged upon the Lieut.-Governor's

* These securities were specified under seven heads :—

1st.—The protection and integrity of our new border, its inhabitants, and their property.

2d.—The safety and protection of the missionaries who may desire hereafter to remain in Kafirland.

3d.—The safety and protection of the British traders who may be permitted to enter Kafirland, together with a due restraint upon the proceedings of these traders.

4th.—The protection of the Fingoe race, now become His Majesty's subjects, and located within the British territory, and the integrity of their locations.

5th.—The safety and protection of the tribes and family of Congo, (Pato, Kama, Kobus) our faithful friends and allies, and the integrity of their locations.

6th.—The safety and protection of Sutu and her son Sandili, and their family ; Matua and Tinto and theirs ; Nonube, and her son Siwani, and theirs ; Umgahi and his family ; Jan Tzatzoe and his family, with integrity of their possessions ; all of whom deserved our protection by their conduct during the war, and to all of whom it was secured firmly by the Treaties of September, 1835.

7th.—As far as it may be possible, peace and good understanding between the respective native tribes whose allegiance to His Majesty, and obedience to our laws are now about to cease ; with their abstinence from wars, and inroads among each other, and the abolition of all proceedings under the pretence of witch-craft, all which were carefully provided for by the Treaties of September, 1835.

attention, and which had been effectually provided for in the previous treaties of Sept., 1835, alike for the benefit of all parties concerned—colonists, friendly Kafirs, Fingoes, and the Amakosa Kafirs themselves.

4. And that looking forward to the inevitable consequences of these great defects in the system about to be adopted, he had predicted, with a fatal accuracy, the intolerable evils which have resulted from their adoption.

The abandonment of the D'Urban system now converted the partial migration of the Dutch Farmers into a general movement, the real causes of which are thus well described by a gentlemen who cannot be charged, as the colonists have been, by the philanthropic party in England, and in the colony, as prejudiced by long residence, and with a direct interest in the oppression of the Aborigines :—

“ The abandonment of the Cape colony by the old Dutch inhabitants, to which I have so frequently had occasion to allude, and which has in fact become completely interwoven with the thread of my narrative, has no parallel in the history of British colonial possessions. Partial emigrations are by no means uncommon, as the existence of the colony itself sufficiently prove, but here is an instance of a body of between five and six thousand souls, who have with one accord abandoned the land of their nativity, and the home of their forefathers, endeared to them by every interesting association, and have recklessly plunged into the pathless wilds of the interior, braving the perils and hardships of the wilderness, and many of them already in the vale of years, seeking for themselves another dwelling place in a strange and inhospitable soil.

“ The first question that presents itself must naturally be what has led to so extraordinary an expatriation ? The losses to which they have been subjected by the emancipation of their slaves ; the absence of laws for their protection from the evils of uncontrolled vagrancy, and from the depredations of the swarm of vagabonds by which the colony is infested, but above all the insecure state of the Eastern frontier, and the inadequate protection afforded by the English Governments against the aggressions of their wily and restless Kafir neighbours, by whose repeated predatory incursions the fairest spots have been laid desolate, and many hundreds of the border colonists reduced to ruin, are the inciting causes assigned by the emigrants for the unprecedented and hazardous step they have taken.

It is impossible to view the violent remedy sought by these oppressed but misguided men in other than a criminal light, yet no unprejudiced person who has visited the more remote districts of this unhappy colony will hesitate to acknowledge that the evils they complain of actually exist. Long subjected to the pilferings of a host of Hottentot vagrants, whose lives are passed in one perpetual round of idleness, delinquency, and brutish intoxication on the threshhold of the gin shop, the South-African settler has lately, in too many instances, been reduced from comparative affluence to want, by being unseasonably and without adequate compensation bereft of the services of his slaves, who prone to villainy, and no longer compelled to labor, have only served to swell the swarm of drones by which it is his destiny to be persecuted. Far greater than these, however, are the evils that have arisen out of the perverse misrepresentations of canting and designing men, to whose mischievous and gratuitous interference, veiled under the cloak of philanthropy, is principally to be attributed, the desolated condition of the Eastern frontier, bounded as it is by a dense and almost impregnable jungle, to defend which nine times the military force now employed would barely be adequate, and flanked by a population of eighty thousand dire irreclaimable savages, naturally inimical, war-like, and predatory, by whom the heartis of the Cape border colonists have for years past been deluged with the blood of their nearest and dearest relatives. And whilst during the unprovoked inroads of these ruthless barbarians—their wives and helpless offspring have been mercilessly butchered before their eyes—whilst their corn-fields have been laid waste, their flocks swept off, and their houses reduced to ruin—to add bitterness to gall they have been taunted as the authors of their own misfortunes, by those who, strangely biassed by *ex parte* statements, have judged them unheard at the distance of several thousand miles from the scene of pillage, bloodshed, and devastation.

" It does, indeed, furnish matter of amazement to every thinking person, how such a state of things should so long have been suffered to exist—how those who have legislated for the affairs of the colony should not long ago have seen the imperious necessity, dictated alike by reason, justice, and humanity of exterminating from off the face of the earth a race of monsters, who, being the unprovoked destroyers and unplacable foes of Her Majesty's Christian subjects, have forfeited every claim to mercy or consideration. Denied redress, however, and deprived of the power of avenging themselves of the wrongs under which they have writhed, its utter hopelessness of recovering their property, or even enjoying future tranquility, the border colonists have at length thrown off the yoke of their allegiance, and whilst seeking out for themselves an asylum in other lands, are now retorting upon our allies the injuries they have so long sus-

tained at their hands."—*Captain Harris' H.E.I.C.S. Narrative of an Expedition into Southern Africa.*

The writer of the foregoing remarks, blames, and not without reason, the Government, for not having redressed the wrongs of the colonists, and thus put a stop to the true and early causes of that emigration. It should, however, in palliation of the conduct of the Government, be remembered that there was a powerful anti-colonial party within the colony itself, led on by the Rev. Dr. John Philip, and most ably championised by his son-in-law, Mr. John Fairbairn, the Editor of the "South African Commercial Advertiser," who not only represented the aborigines *alone* as the sufferers, but all along denied the facts of any extensive migration whatever, and even so late as the month of February, 1837, when thousands of our farmers "were over the border," laughed to scorn the idea of any numbers having left the colony, restricting these to *one hundred and fifty souls*, who he tried to represent were disgusted and disappointed, and who would gladly return to the country they had so madly abandoned.

It is not, therefore, to be wondered at that the philanthropic public, and the Government at home, should be misled by representations, when made by such a supposed immaculate and certainly influential authority, which knew, however, at the time they were hollow, unsubstantial, and false. How little gifted with prophecy, too, was the same oracle, when it issued its solemn dictum at this time, that there was "utter incapacity of the leaders of the emigrants for achieving anything formidable or permanent in the interior."* The utter extinction of two of the greatest native nations in the southern peninsula, by the emigrant arms, those of Matzelekatze and Dingaan, and the present untoward resistance to British arms and rule, prove, on the contrary, "the utter incapacity" of the Editor of the *Advertiser* and his party to appreciate either the motives, or to understand the history of one of the most extraor-

* *South African Commercial Advertiser*, 11th February, 1837.

dinary and unfortunate movements which have been made in any colony of any Government that has ever existed. It is representations like those which have deceived both the Home and Colonial Governments, and led them to the fatal error of disregarding the wrongs, and holding the power of the emigrants at far too cheap a rate.

A.D. 1837.

Retief soon followed his countrymen after the close of his correspondence with Lt.-Governor Stockenstrom, leaving behind him a **MANIFESTO**, purporting to represent the real causes of the expatriation of himself and the colonial farmers :—

MANIFESTO OF THE EMIGRANT FARMERS.

Numerous reports having been circulated throughout the colony, evidently with the intention of exciting in the minds of our countrymen a feeling of prejudice against those who have resolved to emigrate from a colony where they have experienced for so many years past a series of the most vexatious and severe losses ; and as we desire to stand high in the estimation of our brethren, and are anxious that they and the world at large should believe us incapable of severing that sacred tie which binds a christian to his native soil, *without the most sufficient reasons*, we are induced to record the following summary of our motives for taking so important a step ; and also our intentions respecting our proceedings towards the Native Tribes which we may meet with beyond the boundary.

1. We despair of saving the colony from those evils which threaten it by the turbulent and dishonest conduct of vagrants, who are allowed to infest the country in every part ; nor do we see any prospect of peace or happiness for our children in a country thus distracted by internal commotions.

2. We complain of the severe losses which we have been forced to sustain by the emancipation of our slaves, and the vexatious laws which have been enacted respecting them.

3. We complain of the continual system of plunder which we have ever endured from the Kafirs and other colored classes, and particularly by the last invasion of the colony, which has desolated the frontier districts, and ruined most of the inhabitants.

4. We complain of the unjustifiable odium which has been cast upon us by interested and dishonest persons, under the cloak of religion, whose testimony is believed in England to the exclusion of all

evidence in our favor ; and we can foresee as the result of this pre-judice, nothing but the total ruin of the country.

5. We are resolved, wherever we go, that we will uphold the just principles of liberty ; but whilst we will take care that no one shall be held in a state of slavery, it is our determination to maintain such regulations as may suppress crime and preserve proper relations between master and servant.

6. We solemnly declare that we quit this colony with a desire to lead a more quiet life than we have heretofore done. We will not molest any people, nor deprive them of the smallest property ; but, if attacked, we shall consider ourselves fully justified in defending our persons and effects, to the utmost of our ability, against every enemy.

7. We make known, that when we shall have framed a code of laws for our future guidance, copies shall be forwarded to the colony for general information ; but we take this opportunity of stating that it is our firm resolve to make provision for the summary punishment of any traitors who may be found amongst us.

8. We purpose, in the course of our journey, and on arriving at the country in which we shall permanently reside, to make known to the native tribes our intentions, and our desire to live in peace and friendly intercourse with them.

9. We quit this colony under the full assurance that the English government has nothing more to require of us, and will allow us to govern ourselves without its interference in future.

10. We are now quitting the fruitful land of our birth, in which we have suffered enormous losses and continual vexation, and are entering a wild and dangerous territory ; but we go with a firm reliance on an all-seeing, just, and merciful Being, whom it will be our endeavour to fear and humbly to obey.

By authority of the farmers who have quitted the colony,
 (Signed) P. RETIEF.

To return to affairs with the emigrants :—

Mauritz's first step after assuming the reins of government, was to assemble a force for the purpose of retaliating upon the Amazooloo monarch, the injuries that the emigrants had received at his hands. On the 3d of January, 1837, a commando, consisting of 107 Dutch farmers, 40 of Peter David's mounted Griquas, and 60 armed savages on foot, left Thaba Uncha on their march to invade Matselekatze's country, under the guidance of a warrior, who having been taken prisoner in the affair of the 29th October, durst never again present himself before his royal master. Keeping considerably to the Westward of North, they crossed the head of the Hart

iver, and struck into the Kuruman road—by this masterly manœuvre approaching the Matibili from the very quarter whence they were least prepared to expect an attack. A lovely and fertile valley, bounded on the North and North-east by the Kurrichane mountains, and in form resembling a basin of ten or twelve miles in circumference, contained the military town of Mosega, and fifteen others of Matselikatz's principal kraals, in which, resided Kalipe and a large portion of the fighting men. To this spot were the steps of the emigrant farmers directed. As the first streaks of light ushered in the eventful morning of the 17th of January, Mauritz's little band suddenly and silently emerged from a pass in the hills behind the houses of the American missionaries,—and ere the sun had reached the zenith, the bodies of 400 chosen Matibili warriors—the flower of barbarian chivalry, garnished the blood-stained valley of Mosega. Not a creature was aware of the approach of danger, and the entrance of a rifle ball by one of the bed-room windows, was the first intimation received by the missionaries of the impending onslaught.

So perfect were the military dispositions which the information afforded by the captive had suggested, that the valley was completely invested, and no avenue of escape remained. The Matibili flew to arms at the first alarm and bravely defended themselves—but were shot like sparrows as fast as they appeared outside of the enclosure—nor did they succeed in perforating the leathern doublet of a single Dutchman.—*Harris' Narrative.*

The origin and conquests of the chief MATZELLIKATZE, designated by Captain Harries, as “THE LION OF THE NORTH,” has been thus narrated :—

“ His father, it seems, was a chief whose territory lay at some distance to the N. E. of Natal. Being attacked and totally defeated by a neighboring tribe, he fled, and sought and obtained refuge from Chaka, the late King of the Zoolahs, and predecessor of the reigning chief Dingaan. Here he remained till his death in a servile state, resembling that of the Fingoes amongst the Kafirs. Matsellikatze succeeded, however, in gaining the favor and confidence of Chaka, and in process of time was entrusted by him with the command of a kraal or out-station, and with the charge of a large number of cattle. *To this trust he proved faithless.* He revolted, and fled with his people and the booty towards the northwest, attacking and utterly destroying successively in his progress numerous tribes which then occupied that country. In this manner he soon became formidable,—his very name inspiring terror throughout a vast region of country. Having completely subjugated or destroyed every tribe from whose opposition he had any thing to dread, he ultimately selected the country near the sources of the Malopoo and

other streams for his permanent residence. Here he reigned the terror of the surrounding region, governing his people in the most despotic, capricious, and cruel manner. Their principal weapon is the assagai, which however is not thrown as with the Kafirs, but is used for stabbing, hence they never skirmish, but rush at once upon an enemy. This mode of fighting is so terrible to the unwarlike Bechuanas and others, that they are affrighted at the very name of this chief, and one of his warriors is a match for a score of them. The country over which he claimed sovereignty is of great extent, and of a diversified character. Water is rather scarce, except in the basin—about ten or twelve miles in circumference—which contains the sources of the Moloopo and lesser streams, that flow into the Marica,—a river which, after taking a course for some distance in a northerly direction, makes a sudden bend to the east, and is supposed to fall into the sea near Delagoa Bay. Near this spot is a ridge not remarkable for elevation or character, which separates the waters that flow respectively into the Atlantic and Indian Oceans. On one side of this ridge all the streams take a course to the north or west, and on the other in the opposite direction. The tract of country comprised in the basin referred to is supposed to be equal, either for beauty or fertility, to any part of South Africa."

The arrival of the Dutch farmers from the Colony, was now most anxiously looked forward to by the English settlers at Natal,—the more especially as Dingaan, by some supposed intrigue of Captain Gardener, had shut up the trade, and it was believed, seriously meditated an attack upon the inhabitants of the Port—the more particularly as the American missionary, the Rev. G Champion, had been told by Dingaan that Capt. Gardiner had represented them as a set of rascals who ought to be disarmed.

The British settlers appear to have indulged, at this time, in the chimerical idea of establishing at Natal, what the Boers are at this time essaying, namely, an *independent form of government*, as is evident from the following extract of a letter from an influential member of the community there, addressed to Mr. B. Norden, dated the 2d of May, 1837, and published in the *Graham's Town Journal*, on the 22d of June following :—

We hourly expect to hear from the Boers. When they arrive we intend to form an internal government of our own, free from

the false measures and wavering policy of the neighbouring colony, and I have no doubt but that every thing will then go on smoothly.

Whatever guilt, therefore, there is in the conception of the idea of revolt and separation from the parent state, must, consequently, not be *exclusively* placed against the Dutch emigrants—but the English deserve to share in some proportion with the later comers driven from the Colony by misrule, while the English left it from choice, and without any of the excuses of the unfortunate and infatuated Boers.

'The amiable, but ill-fated, Retief, arrived among his ex-patriated countrymen in April, and the following account is given of his reception and elevation to the supreme authority, by an eye-witness of the most credible authority.

" On the 8th of April Mr. Maritz and one of his Heemraeden rode from the camp of the emigrant farmers, in a horse-wagon, to meet Mr. Retief, who was a considerable distance off, the farmers having signified their intention of electing him their head. After considerable reluctance Mr. Retief at length consented, and accompanied Maritz to the camp. Immediately on his arrival, public meetings were convened by the farmers, who were then divided into two parties, and he was unanimously chosen as their chief by both: No evasion on his part would satisfy them. He brought to their notice that they might probably regret the step they were about to take, as he would never suffer the laws of civilized society to be violated,—but would severely punish all crimes against the community,—and would especially most rigidly enforce the divine precept "Whoever sheddeth man's blood, by man shall his blood be shed." To this they all expressed their approbation. Mr. Retief, much affected at the imposing scene before him, then addressed them at considerable length. He brought to their notice the immense responsibility they had placed upon him; he was himself but a frail mortal, but from the unanimity of feeling shewn, he recognized the hand of God in what had taken place, to whom it would be his duty to supplicate for strength to discharge his trust for the well-being of the community.

" Mr. Retief lost no time in re-uniting the two parties, in which he succeeded. He is now busily engaged in framing regulations for establishing and supporting public worship according to the system of their forefathers, viz ; the Dutch Reformed Church. He has also been employed in concluding and ratifying treaties of peace between the farmers and several of the native tribes. Three powerful

chiefs have already united with him in friendship, viz.—Maroko, Towaana, and Sinkjala,—and it appears that the treaties mentioned have been most gladly received by these tribes.

“ One of the Captains of the Bastards, named Pieter Dafits, has also visited Mr. R. at Vet River, and departed from him highly satisfied with what he had heard and seen, promising to spare no trouble in bringing as many of the other Captains as he could meet to the Vet River, immediately, to ratify similar treaties with the farmers as had been done by the native chiefs.

“ We have the liveliest hope that Mr. Retief will attain his desire of restoring the blessings of peace and security to a country, which we have been compelled for so many years to view as the scene of the most atrocious murders and robberies. One article of his treaties is to the following purport,—“ *That upon any grievance being committed against any of the contracting chiefs, the aggrieved party shall inform the others thereof. These shall immediately cause enquiry to be made into the circumstanees, and the party complained against being found guilty, and refusing to make satisfactory compensation to the aggrieved, shall be compelled thereto by the said contracting chiefs.*”

“ We understand that Mr. R. intends to proceed from the Vet River to some of the Coranna Captains, on the complaint of Maroko, that the former were preparing for a plundering expedition against him (Maroko) : and we fear for the Corannas, unless they should in good faith enter into similar treaties. We know, however, that it will be a difficult task for them to refrain from plundering the natives.

“ According to the latest accounts it appears that Matsellikatse is not yet disposed to permit the emigrants to continue their journey peaceably ; in consequence of which Mr. Retief has made arrangements to pay him a speedy visit ;—and, we understand, he will give him the option of meeting him either as a friend or an enemy. The commando of farmers to go out against this chief, it is said, will consist of 500 men, who were to have started on the 1st of June. Maroko, Towaana, Sinkajala, and a portion of Bastards and Corannas have already offered to unite their strength with Mr. R. for the object in view ; this Mr. R. declined ; he has, however, requested that Maroko, Towaana, Sinkajala, and Masoes, will accompany the commando personally to Matsellikatse, to which they have all agreed. We understand that these chiefs are to point out to Mr. R. the country from which they have severally been driven by the despot Matsellikatse, and of which they have complained so bitterly. We doubt not but Mr. R. will do them great service, if they behave as they ought to do.

"As regards the apprentices, (late slaves) care has been taken that they shall receive their freedom as they would have done had they remained in the colony. All cases of ill-treatment against apprentices or other colored persons are to be rigorously punished."

"Mr. R. has taken care to provide that none of the native tribes which they may meet in the progress of their journey shall be molested or injured in any manner. We also find that Mr. R. is making inquiries whether the British government intends putting a stop to a free trade with us from the colony, but which we do not care much about. We leave that to the English merchants, who will soon learn to appreciate their interests. We doubt not to be able to find a seaport, from whence we may obtain supplies, as well as to arrive in a good, fruitful, and healthy country. Mr. R. declares, that as we do not go to do harm, but good, he has no doubt but that the Almighty, who has protected us thus far, will still further extend his mercy to him, and to those who have committed themselves to his care."

An old colonist, of the name of Bernhard Roedolf, who had emigrated to Natal, enlightened his brother colonists by the publication of the following Diary of their Proceedings, Government, and Discoveries :—

"On the 4th of April last, I quitted Graham's Town, in a horse-wagon. On the 14th of the same month I overtook my two brothers, Gerrit and Andreas Roedeloff, with their party, (who had left their farms to join the emigrants in the early part of the year), having with them 20 wagons ; they were encamped at the Storm Bergen, behind "Penhoek," residing in great spirits and glee in their tents. My object in going after them was to endeavor to persuade them, if possible, to abandon their journey, and return to the colony—but all my endeavors and trouble were to no purpose. Up to this, my intention had been not to proceed further, but to return to the colony from the spot whence I should meet them ; I, however here changed my plan, and continued going further. Friday, the 27th of April, we rode over the Orange River ; on Saturday, the 7th of May, we arrived at the village of the chief Maroko, where we saw the Rev. J. Archbell, who there fills the honorable station of missionary, and who received us very hospitably. He informed me that Messrs. Maritz and Retief had started from thence not long ago, and that he had that day received intelligence that they were encamped not far off in 5 or 6 divisions, I was gratified on hearing this ; re-commenced my journey instantly, and was so fortunate as to find myself the same evening safely lodged in the camp of Mr. Retief, surrounded by a large number of my country-

men. Mr. Retief was much pleased on learning that I had arrived. The following morning was the Sabbath, and the spot where divine service was held, was made by wagons drawn up on each side, covered over the top ; at the upper end a large tent was placed, the front pulled up, and looking into the space thus covered in ;—this served us all for a church ; the service being performed, twice in the day, in the usual manner of our Dutch Reformed Church, by the Rev. Erasmus Smit, who was appointed to the situation by the head of the farmers, Mr. Retief, by the approbation of a majority of the emigrants. On the Monday morning, Mr. Retief invited me to come to his tent, from the opposite side of the encampment, where I had put up with an old friend. I immediately complied with the request ; he received me with kindness. I understood from him that he had entered into treaties of peace with the native chiefs in whose vicinity they were encamped, viz., Maroko, Towana, and Sinkajala. These chiefs, it appears, had suffered much from Matsellikatze,—their people murdered and plundered, and the remainder finally driven from their country. On Wednesday, the 11th of May, the whole encampment broke up, and proceeded to a high ridge, which I named "*Fine Prospect*," (Schoone Uitzigt), and where we met Mr. Maritz and his party. Thursday we continued our journey to the first branch (spruit) of the Vette River, which takes its origin in the Drakenberg, and runs into the Vaal River. On arriving there we found a public meeting convened, for the purpose of sending out a commando against Matsellikatze, either to meet him as a friend,—or, in case of refusal on his part, to treat him as an enemy, and which was to start on the 1st of June. The three above named chiefs, and also one of the Captains of the Bastards, volunteered their services against Matsellikatze. This, however, Mr. Retief refused, but requested that they would accompany the commando in person, to which they all agreed.

" On the same day, three young couples passed the matrimonial court, held by Maritz, previous to the celebration of marriage.

" As respects the state of society, it appears admirable, which will be seen from the few disputes which have arisen. I could only hear of *three* cases of any importance : 1st. It was stated that a person intended blowing up one of the ammunition wagons ; of this, however, there was no sufficient proof, and he was acquitted. 2nd. The dispute which arose four or five months ago, between H. Potgieter and Mr. Maritz, but which has since been amicably settled ;—and 3rd, a person who attempted to take liberties with the wife of another, was condemned to pay a fine of Rds. 400.

" Provisions of all descriptions are abundant. The subjects of the chiefs before named, bring daily to the camp large quantities of produce on their backs and laden upon pack-oxen,—such as me-

lies and Kafir corn, pumpkins, potatoes, beans, &c. &c., which they dispose of with difficulty. The emigrants have with them an immense number of cattle and sheep—many thousands;—the cattle, taken generally, are not fat, but still in good condition; but the sheep are in good order. The country is healthy for all descriptions of cattle, as I have ascertained from more than 50 individuals, and water abundant. It is enchanting to the eye to view the beauteous face of nature here; but particularly at the lovely spot whence I departed from the emigrants at the Vette River. It is very cold in winter, and firewood generally very scarce, on both sides of the Orange River to the residence of Maroko; from thence there is abundance of olive wood (*olyvenhout*) on the sides of the mountains; the first mimosas met with is at the Vette River.

“The encampment is surrounded by thousands of all sorts of wild animals,—such as lions, wolves, gnus, blesboks, bonteboks, spring-bucks, &c. &c.

“The intention of the farmers is, immediately after the return of the commando against Matsellikatse, to resume their journey;—in the mean time the whole will remove to, and concentrate at, the middle branch of the Vette River. This river has three branches, uniting together in one a little below the spot where the farmers intend moving to, and further on running into the Vaal River. About 13 or 14 stages (schofts) over the Vaal River, more to the north than to the east, the farmers have found a suitable spot to build their town;—this place is plentifully supplied with good timber, abundance of lime and building stone, as good as can be found anywhere within the colony,—and having a fountain, which 15 yards below its source forms a running stream 17 yards broad and 22 inches deep. There is also a good salt-pan in the vicinity; and it is only 10 or 12 stages distant from Port Natal. The spot is stated further to be extremely healthy and fruitful. This account I received from many individuals at the camp who had been to the place and saw what they related to me.

“On Monday, the 19th of May, we parted, while a great number of wagons were already on their journey forward to the middle branch of the Vette River; every individual I looked at appeared in high spirits, and wore a pleasant countenance; with the greatest astonishment I stood silently gazing at them;—finally we parted,—they proceeded on their journey with pleasure, and I returned in grief to the colony.

“There are now upwards of *one thousand wagons* with the emigrant farmers,—and it is said that they can muster 1,600 armed men.”

In the same month of this year the migration was greatly augmented by the departure of one of the oldest inhabitants

of the District of Uitenhage, Mr. Pieter Uys, with about 100 followers. The reasons which led to this influential person's expatriation, is explained in the leading Dutch newspaper of the day the *Zuid Afrikaan*. Addressing the government of the Colony, the Editor of that journal says, speaking of the complaints of the Dutch farmers against the government:—

You have established posts to the villages,—but are branch posts established for the purpose of communicating with those residing at an isolated distance from the villages?—You have made penal law, without giving them the opportunity of becoming acquainted with them,—and yet they are punished for the slightest mistake!—You have made laws for the protection of the property of the apprentices, and Hottentots, and the dear Caffers,—but why do you remain behind in adopting laws for the security of the property of the farmers? You appoint special magistrates for the protection of the apprentices, and instead of fixing him in the centre of the district, so that he may be equally accessible to all,—the special magistrate of Uitenhage district is residing at the very extremity of the district, “Port Elizabeth.”—If an individual brings an action against the special magistrate and fails to prove—however just his complaint—he must be condemned in *treble costs*. But how stands the case on the other hand?—Piet Uys, the hero, who fell in his attempt to rescue a comrade in the battle against the Zoolas,—who had volunteered in the war against the Caffers, in 1835,—was fighting for the protection of Her Majesty’s subjects—and was shedding his blood for the integrity of Her Majesty’s frontier,—when his wife was brought up to “Port Elizabeth” on a warrant of the special magistrate,—he brings an action for false imprisonment—makes a preliminary motion for papers, which the special magistrate opposes, but who is condemned by the Chief Justice, then on Circuit, with *the costs*,—which, however, were subsequently, on a warrant of the Governor, refunded to him, *out of the District Treasury!*—“What!” says Piet Uys, “my complaint is as just as any,—if I get a sentence in my favor, the costs are paid out of the District Treasury;—if I fail in the *proof* of my case, I must pay treble costs; do you call that *equally protecting all parties?*—I prefer living amongst barbarians, where my life depends upon the strength of my arms; rather than ——!” There he stopped—and—expatriated himself!

The particulars of the departure of this much respected and regretted man, is thus related in the local newspaper of the day, the *Graham’s Town Journal*:—

We mentioned in our last Journal that a party of emigrants from the colony, consisting of upwards of 100 persons, were then in the vicinity of Graham's Town, on their route towards the north-eastern boundary. As the circumstance excited considerable attention, and a feeling of deep and general sympathy, it was resolved that some mark of attention should be shewn them, which, while it unequivocally displayed the fraternal regard of the English settlers towards the Dutch colonists, would also testify that deep commiseration which had been excited in their minds, by the fact, that *any* circumstances should have arisen to induce so many productive hands to forsake the colony. As the most respectable and truly valuable present which could be made to them, a folio copy of the Sacred Scriptures was obtained, in massy Russia binding. The cost of this handsome volume was Rds. 100, which was raised by a subscription of one shilling each. On the outside of the front cover was inscribed in gold letters as follows:—

The Gift
OF THE
INHABITANTS OF GRAHAM'S TOWN
AND ITS NEIGHBOURHOOD TO
MR. JACOBUS UYS
AND HIS EMIGRATING COUNTRYMEN.

On the inside of the cover was printed the following inscription:—

This Sacred Volume

Is presented to Mr. JACOBUS UYS, and his expatriating Countrymen,
by the Inhabitants of Graham's Town and its vicinity,
as a

farewell token of their esteem and heartfelt regret at their departure.

The anxiety which they have evinced
to endeavour to obtain a Minister of Religion,
and their strict observance of its ordinances,
are evident proofs,

that in their wanderings in search of another land
they will be guided by the precepts contained in this Holy Book,
and steadfastly adhere to its solemn dictates—

the stern decrees of
THE CREATOR OF THE UNIVERSE,
THE GOD OF ALL NATIONS AND TRIBES !

This present was taken out to the encampment by a deputation of gentlemen, accompanied by about 100 of the inhabitants of Gra-

ham's Town, who were received with much respect by the assembled farmers and their families, drawn up in line in front of their wagons. The address, which was read by Mr. W. R. THOMPSON, was as follows :

" **MY GOOD FRIENDS,**—The inhabitants of Graham's Town and its vicinity, hearing of your arrival in this district, with the intention of quitting for ever the land of your birth, have entered into a public subscription to purchase this Bible ; and I am deputed, with the gentlemen who accompany me, now to present it to you. We offer it to you as a proof of our regard, and with expressions of sorrow that you are now going so far from us. We regret, for many reasons, that circumstances should have arisen to separate us ; for ever since we, the British settlers, arrived in this colony, now a period of 17 years, the greatest cordiality has continued to be maintained by us and our nearest Dutch neighbours ; and we must always acknowledge the general and unbounded hospitality with which we have been welcomed in every portion of the colony. We trust, therefore, that although widely separated, you will hold us in remembrance, and that we wish allways to retain for each other the warmest sentiments of friendship.

" We have fixed on the Sacred Volume, as the most suitable offering to you, knowing, from your constantly expressed religious feelings, that it will be the most acceptable ; and we now bid you farewell—trusting, that the Father of heaven will continue to watch over you, and with the hope, that through your means the Gospel of his Son Jesus Christ may be spread over the now benighted nations of the interior."

The above having been translated into Dutch by Mr. MEURANT, and the Bible presented by THOS. PHILIPPS, Esq., J.P.

Mr. JACOBUS UYS,* the venerable leader of the party, made a reply in Dutch of the following tenor :—

" I thank you gentlemen most heartily for the good gift which you have presented to us, and still more for the very good wishes with which your present has been accompanied. I feel confidence in assuring you that your gift will not be ill bestowed, but that I, and every one of my company, will endeavor by every means in our power, to act up to the precepts which are contained in that Holy Book, and thus show that we are faithful disciples of our Lord JESUS CHRIST."

Mr. PIETER UYS, eldest son of the above, said he wished to say a few words. He begged to thank the deputation for the very

* It is a remarkable fact that this party, though consisting of upwards of 100 persons, are all related either by birth or marriage, and that they have to address the truly patriarchal leader of it, either as Father, Grand-father, or Uncle.

kind manner in which they had expressed themselves. He felt deep regret at parting with so many kind friends, but he hoped that as long as they all remained on this side of the grave, although parted by distance, they should remain united in heart.

The complaints of the farmers who had expatriated themselves were again reiterated to the government *within* the Colony, and from a part of the country where complaints of this kind had been hitherto unknown. The Memorialists urged their right to follow robbers beyond the boundary—claimed indulgence for their hitherto *loyal* and *dutiful* obedience—requested some enactment for the repression of vagrancy, and declared the grievances under which they labored had been the cause of the emigration of the farmers to Natal.

The voices of the Memorialists, nevertheless, fell upon the ears of the “deaf adder,” for he was determined to close them “let the charmer charm never so wisely.” The Lieut.-Governor could not afford to have his system broken in upon by any part of the community—and accordingly this, another stirring appeal, was disregarded—to accumulate a mass of grievances and disaffection against the local and British Government for gross inattention to the wrongs of its subjects.

The following is the Memorial from Colesberg, hitherto the most contented and safest part of the Cape Colony :—

To His Honor, A. STOCKENSTROM, Governor of the Eastern District of the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope. The Memorial of the Inhabitants of the Parish of Colesberg, humbly sheweth:

That, we have been long convinced that your Honor has felt a deep and unalterable interest in our welfare, and, lately assured by your Honor in Colesberg, that the same friendly feeling towards us remains unaltered, we approach your Honor with a statement of grievances under which we groan, *and which, if not speedily removed, must induce us to seek refuge in a foreign land.*

Convinced that the present system of licentiousness and insubordination among the black population, if not speedily checked and abolished, must lead to the commission of those crimes which have already stained the land with blood, and darkened the page of history : we humbly, but firmly, call upon your Honor to devise such

measures as shall protect us in the legal possession of our Rights as Burghers.

We deem it incompatible with our Rights, as British subjects, to be prevented from following the depredators of our property beyond the Orange River; when, often, by following them to the opposite bank, we could recover our property at no expense or detriment to the execution of the Laws within the Colony.

We have further to assure your Honor, that, while we have hitherto hazarded our lives and sacrificed our property, at the command of the Government, in the hope that by our loyal and dutiful obedience, our interests should be regarded, and our grievances redressed, we are now incapable of defending ourselves or families from wanton outrage, far less of yielding the Government the least assistance, should it be required of us.

From the infidelity and insubordination of our servants, we are rendered incapable of using the means of grace undisturbed in our families or in the church, and must thereby not only suffer in our temporal, but also in our eternal interests.

Being apprehensive that those fearful crimes of former days, will again be committed by those fierce and indolent fellows, who infest the country, who will neither work nor want, we earnestly solicit your Honor to appoint such a Law, for all classes of the community, as shall prevent the same; and to subject all who wander about without the means of lawful subsistence to merited punishment.

That we deplore that the same causes which have led us to seek redress from your Honor, have already induced so many of our brothers, friends, and countrymen, to leave their country in quest of a secure and peaceful home in a foreign land: and are assured, that effectual measures may yet be devised to prevent thousands of our fellow-countrymen from following their unhappy example, and to cause our land, with the undeserved blessing of the Lord, to prosper. With this hope do we look and rely upon your Honor as our earthly Governor, as the Defender of our Rights, and the protector of our Laws, and trust that our hopes and expectations will not be disappointed.

And we shall, as in duty bound, ever pray.

Captain Gardiner, after a visit to England, returned to Natal in the month of May, accompanied by a Missionary, the Rev. Mr. Owen. His conduct in the Colony and at Natal disgusted all that came in contact with him, and he became involved in serious differences with the British settlers. A few days after his arrival,

" He called a meeting of the inhabitants, black and white, at which from 500 to 600 were present. On this occasion Capt. G.

stated that the King of England had sent him ‘to hold over them the shield of his protection,’ and to see that strict and impartial justice was administered ; that the natives were a free people like the whites, and that they were at liberty to quit their present stations should they be disposed, and to act in all respects as independent persons. Capt. G. then read his commission as magistrate under the *new Act of Parliament* ;* but which he explained as only referring to offences committed by British subjects, and not to those committed by the natives. He then read a notice appointing Mr. Pickman Clerk of the Peace—which was followed by several Proclamations—the principal points in which were, prohibitions against the sale of fire arms to the Zoola Chief, or assisting him in his wars upon the neighbouring tribes.

On the several points referred to, Capt. Gardiner was closely questioned by some of the leading persons at the meeting—and the result was an expression of the utmost dissatisfaction at his proceedings, and a determination not to submit to his assumption of authority. Immediately after holding this meeting Capt. Gardiner packed up a few necessaries in his wagon and removed to a situation about 30 miles further to the eastward. That their sentiments might not be misunderstood—the British residents at Natal drew up a protest against Capt. Gardiner’s proceedings—and which we are informed contained the following points.—

“ 1. *That the country of Natal has never been acknowledged as a part of the British Empire.*

2. *That it was granted to the present inhabitants by Chaka, the late King of the Zoolas, and has been confirmed by the present King Dingaan to them, under the title of “the white men’s country.”*

3. *That the power assumed by Captain Gardiner is contrary to the principles of equity—inasmuch as it only extends to the punishment of British subjects for offences committed by them, while it offers them no redress for crimes committed against them by the natives.*

4. *That the power of Captain Gardiner is inefficient, inasmuch as it does not give him any jurisdiction in civil cases.*

5. *That such an appointment is calculated to lead to acts of tyranny and oppression ; inasmuch as examinations are required to be sent to the colony, and returned to Natal, during all which time the party accused, though innocent, may be incarcerated in gaol.*

6. *That no mode of redress is pointed out in the event of such acts of oppression being committed.*

7. *That they object to this power being vested in Captain Gardiner, inasmuch as that officer, before quitting Natal for England, with the avowed object of soliciting the British Government to recognize*

* The Cape Punishment Bill.

Port Natal, materially injured the inhabitants by advising Dingaan to put a stop to their trade.

8. That on this ground they consider Capt. Gardiner inimical to the interests of the inhabitants, and undeserving of their confidence."

The protest, of which the above is the mere substance, concluded by a declaration, that the inhabitants, in coming to a determination on these points, were not actuated by factious motives ; but did so entirely on the ground of the informality, and very unsatisfactory character, of Capt. Gardiner's proceedings. They expressed a most ardent wish that His Majesty's Government would adopt measures to place them under an authority armed with power to execute law and to afford them protection.

This protest was signed by most of the white inhabitants.

The treaty of Capt. Gardiner, (vide, page 40) with Dingaan in 1835, was repudiated as cruel and unjust by the British inhabitants of Natal, who represented their views within the colony as follows:—

To the Editor of the Graham's Town Journal :

SIR,—We have read with surprise a letter in the *South African Commercial Advertiser* of the 19th April, 1837, (copied from one in the *Record*) purporting to be written by Capt. Gardiner, wherein he states distinctly three courses to be taken in treating with Dingaan. There is a fourth; but, we must confess, we do not understand it, as he does not specify clearly what it is.

We have now consulted, and are unanimously of opinion, that by Capt. Gardiner's own words at the time, also from his interpreter George Cyrus, who, we think, is now in or near Graham's Town ; and by what we have heard from Dingaan since, that it was upon the third course that the natives were delivered up—that is to say, *unconditionally*.

He states, that a weak and timid policy might be contented with the third alternative. We answer—*so it was*. We are not aware of any other policy having been pursued until the late slaughter by Dingaan of Dubo's people and the desertion of the Amaapeece, when we all agreed to reject the treaty (as most cruel and as utterly impracticable) and to *protect the people*; and though we by no means wished to come into collision with Dingaan, yet, if he molested us to offer resistance.

Such a message was conveyed to Dingaan ; and though before that he had stopped the trade, and even taken the guns from one of the hunters (as he says by advice of Capt. G.), yet we had no sooner assumed this firm attitude than he immediately declared the trade open, and expressed a wish to be on closer terms of friendship and alliance with us than ever. How long it may last, now that Capt.

G. has arrived again to carry out his *energetic and humane policy*, we cannot say. We know that Dingaan expressed disappointment upon Capt. G.'s recent visit to him, no doubt expecting Capt. G. to fulfil his treaty, the impossibility of which we need not point out.

But to return to the letter. Capt. Gardiner states that he has received the thanks of many, both black and white, for his interference in the treaty. Possibly he may have received thanks from Dingaan, who thirsted for their blood; but that he received thanks from the majority of the white residents here, we most positively deny. Many of the whites (of course all the blacks) were not parties to the treaty, and always disapproved of it; still, when entered into, the Europeans would have kept it had it not been for the sanguinary measures of Dingaan.

So much repugnance did the whites feel to this treaty, that H. Ogle, when compelled by its terms to take and deliver up to certain slaughter the mother and two infant sisters of Nontabula, one of his head men, gave the son and brother of these victims a cow as some atonement for his conduct.

We also see by Capt. Gardiner's evidence, as given in your paper at various times, that he has stated that Dingaan gave him the country from the Umtoogale to the Umzimvoobo Rivers, of course comprehending Natal and the country of the Amapondas.

We beg through the medium of your Journal to point out to those who may feel interested in our affairs, that Chaka gave at several times, and to several different parties, the same tract of country, and that Dingaan has often confirmed the said *gift* to the predecessors of Capt. Gardener; also that Capt. Gardener has treated with, and received a country from a man *who has not, nor ever had, the slightest title to it*. If desolating a wide extent of country by fire and sword,—if murder of the inhabitants in cold blood as well as in battle,—if cruelties, the most unheard of, to the aged and defenceless, the women and the children,—could give such a right, such a right had Chaka, and none other, he never having occupied it excepting upon his return from his first maurauding expedition against Faku, when the worn-out and knocked up cattle were left at different places upon the route until recovered.

Unluckily for the validity of such a gift there lives at *Natal* a chief named Umnini, whose ancestors have, as far back as Kafir tradition reaches, been the legal and rightful chiefs and owners of the country around, and who has never abandoned it. After a knowledge of the above who will argue for the justice or the necessity of receiving such a grant,—in fact receiving from Dingaan the property of Umnini?

We remain, Sir, your's, &c.

R. BIGGAR,

T. D. STELLER,

G. WHITE,

J. DUFFY,

D. C. TOOHEY,

W. BLANKENBERG,

J. STUBBS,

R. RUSSELL.

From his camp at Sand River, Retief addressed the Governor of the Colony upon a subject which had already become serious matter of conversation within the Colony, that certain parties there, including some powerful agents, had used their utmost influence to raise the tribes of the interior, especially the Griquas, more immediately under their influence, against the Emigrant Farmers. His letter, conveying the belief of full six thousand people under him, respectful, conciliatory, but melancholy in its tone, is as follows—it repeats the “oft-told-tale” of great grievances, repeatedly represented, but still remaining unredressed, and an assumption of independence which could not be mistaken ; but which it appears was neither checked nor attended to :—

To His Excellency the Governor and Commander-in-chief of the Cape of Good Hope.

The undersigned, conductor and chief of the United Encampments, hereby

HUMBLY SHEWETH,—That, as subjects of the British government, we, in our depressed circumstances, repeatedly represented our grievances to His Majesty’s government ; but, *in consequence of finding all our efforts to obtain redress fruitless*, we at length resolved to abandon the land of our birth, *to avoid making ourselves guilty of any act which might be construed into strife against our own government*.

That this abandonment of our country has occasioned incalculable losses ; but that, notwithstanding all this, we cherish no animosity towards the English nation.

That, in accordance with this feeling, commerce between us and the British merchants will on our part be freely entered into and encouraged, with the understanding, however, that we are acknowledged as a free and independent people.

That we have understood with deep regret that nearly all the aborigines and tribes by whom we are at present surrounded, have *been instigated to attack us* ; but that, *although we find ourselves in a position to confront and defy all our enemies*, we nevertheless *humbly request your Excellency, as far as it may be in your power, to use your authority and influence to repress such hostilities*, in order that we may not be compelled to shed the blood of our fellow-creatures, as has recently been the case, in consequence of the attack of Matselikatse upon us.

That we trust soon to convince the world, by our conduct and deeds, that it is not, and never was, our intention unlawfully to molest any of the native tribes ; but that we, on the contrary, set the highest value on universal peace and good-will among men. That, finally, we confidently hope that the British government will permit us to receive all such claims and demands as may be lawfully due to us in the colony.

I have the honor to be,
Your Excellency's obedient humble servant,
(Signed) P. RETIEF.

Sand River, July 21st, 1837.

Notwithstanding the allegations to the contrary, made by the Anti-Colonial Press, represented by the Editor of the "Commercial Advertiser," the continuance of the migration was thus described in the "Graham's Town Journal" by an intelligent and accurate correspondent :—

Orange River, August 2d, 1837.

" I have just returned from the different camps between Modder, Vet, and Vaal River. When I left, there were more than 600 men capable of bearing arms. On each side of the Caledon River there were 400 men, who were to join the rest in advance. Jacob De Klerk has just crossed Aleman's Drift with 30 wagons. Field-Commandant Peter Jacobs, of the Beaufort District, has been at Retief's Camp and has returned home, but is shortly expected to join, along with almost his whole *Commandschap*. In short, you may say that nearly all the men in his district are making ready to trek. Tarka is also on the move. The foremost part is at Pen Hoek. I counted with sixteen wagons 29,000 sheep, and 3,252 head of horned cattle. After stating this I shall leave any thinking man to judge what a scarcity of cattle, sheep, &c., will soon ensue. Ewe sheep are not to be procured at any price. Where is the remedy ? No man can venture to go the distance the emigrants intend to settle, in consequence of the different marauding tribes. I am happy to inform you the different camps enjoy perfect health."

But another hand of later date sketched the progress and situation of the emigrants. The style and allusions will shew it was not that of one of the Farmers, but of an Englishman, who regretted and fortold the results we now experience, but who was treated with levity as a "*prophet accursed for ever boding ill.*"

Orange River, 20th August, 1837.

I have made rather a long journey—and wherever I have met with well-informed people, it has been my endeavor to ascertain the real state and sentiments of the honest, and once rich, but now poor and calumniated farmers. From my own personal observations, I am now convinced of the cruelty and falsehood of those who have held up these worthy men as barbarians, and as having no claim to the respect and sympathy of the British public. I am sorry to say that numbers, who, a short time ago, did not intend to cross the boundary, are now “treking,” or making ready to start as soon as winter is fairly over. *The cause assigned for this, from the Fish River mouth to the Orange River, is the very insecure measures adopted by the Lieutenant-Governor for the protection of property and the impunity with which the natives residing over the boundary may commit depredations, and all kinds of excesses upon the white inhabitants.* Such a state of things cannot exist long, and I look forward to the crisis with the most fearful apprehensions. The savages now know their power, and they do not fail to impute all the late imbecile measures to fear. Generally speaking all the farmers who received grants of land from His Excellency Sir Benjamin D'Urban, between Stormberg Spruit and Kraai River, have “treked”—and I have heard from numbers of them, that not one would have left, had they not been ordered off by the Lieutenant-Governor, when he ceded the land to the Tambokie Kafirs. Now the Tambokies had just as much right to the country as the Pacha of Egypt has to the Falkland Islands, and the Lieutenant-Governor has just as much right to cede the country to them as your humble servant. The short of the story is, there has been no nation inhabiting that tract of country within the memory of the oldest colonist on the frontier, nor can it be ascertained that any people, with the exception of a few wandering Bushmen and runaway Hottentots, have ever resided between these two Rivers. The Kafirs themselves to whom the ground has been given, admit freely that they cannot and will not live there, want of bush prevents them, and now that the colonists have left it, it will become as before—a rendezvous for murderers and theives—and in short for the offscouring of the colony who will flee there to escape the hands of justice. The Boers who resided there, had constructed dams at the different spruits so as to ensure in the long droughts, a constant supply of water. They had built good houses, brought the ground under tillage, made gardens, and rendered their places of some value. All these they have now left, and, along with hundreds more of their abused brethren, have abandoned their native country, *to seek in the wilds of the interior, that security which they have found to their cost, cannot be enjoyed in this colony:* Not a day passes without wit-

nessing the heart rending scene of expatriation in the true sense of the word, and that expatriation occasioned by measures which are fast causing the ruin of this once flourishing colony.

"*War*," said the illustrious Burke, "*never leaves a nation where it found it*," neither has the Kafir war left the frontier where it found it. It is not so much the losses sustained from the Kafirs and other robbers that the farmers complain of, for these under a proper system might be provided against; it is not the slave question—for the cries of the world and common humanity demanded freedom for the slave—but the great grievance is the boundary recently made—and the policy which has been adopted by the Lieutenant-Governor in relation to the tribes on our immediate border. Thefts are of continual occurrence along this part of the frontier, and many of the farmers have suffered severe losses by the depredations of the Tambokie Kafirs. In fact with regard to horses it is next to impossible to keep one. Large numbers of these have been stolen, and the Kafirs still continue to steal them wherever they can lay their hands upon them.

The party under the management of Pieter Retief had settled themselves on the Sand River, a branch of the northern Gariep. Pieter Uys with his adherents now determined to coalesce with Retief, but dissatisfied with some proceedings of Maritz decided to cross the Quathlamba or Draakberg Range and settle down in the Natal territory, south of those mountains; but previous to their movement they put forth the following exposition of their sentiments:—

Caledon, 14th August, 1837.

Resolutions adopted by us, the undermentioned *travellers* and *exiles*, from the colony of the Cape of Good Hope, now on our journey between the Orange and Vet Rivers. We make known to our countrymen in advance, with what object and intentions we have undertaken our journey, and that our unanimous wish is—

1. To select the country called the Bay of Port Natal as our sea port.
2. To inspect the extent of country joining the same, inland, as far as we shall deem it necessary.
3. That we have placed ourselves under certain chiefs, as Field-Commandants, as protecting leaders over us, to investigate and redress all grievances, that may take place on our journey.
4. *We place our dependence on the All-wise Ruler of heaven and earth, and are resolved to adhere to the sure foundation of our*

reformed christian religion, entertaining the hope when we have reached the place of our destination, we shall live a better and safer life.

5. As regards the establishment and execution of legal authority, as exercised by some of our countrymen, we must unanimously declare, that we entirely disapprove thereof; and we shall only regulate ourselves in the wilderness by the *old Burgher Regulations* and duties, and all differences which may arise, shall be adjusted in accordance with those *Burgher Regulations*,

6. We have come to the final determination not to submit to any laws that may have been established by a few individuals, and which we conceive has a tendency to reduce us from a state of banishment to a state of slavery

7. When we shall have attained our object, and have arrived at the place of our destination, we then trust to see the whole of our countrymen assembled together; then, by the public voice, to proceed to the election and appointment of our chief rulers, and the framing of proper laws, and in general to consider what is useful both for country and people.

8. The judicial appointments and laws, as now established, will not be noticed by us in the slightest degree, but are considered as of no value.

9. We trust that every burgher will participate in these sentiments, in order to be placed in the situation of a free citizen.

10. *We purpose to establish our settlement on the same principles of liberty as those adopted by the United States of America, carrying into effect, as far as practicable, our burgher laws.* Every person agreeing herewith will, therefore, attach hereto his signature, for the information of those who are still in doubt on this subject.

(Signed)

P. L. UYS,
J. J. UYS,
J. P. MOOLMAN,
H. J. POTGIETER,
J. LANDMAN.

and one hundred and sixty-five others.

In a former part of this compilation one of the *chief* grievances of the Dutch inhabitants, and which drove them into exile, has been stated—namely—the inadequate compensation for their property in slaves. To the Dutch inhabitants this suffering was principally confined; but let the reader now hear the complaints of an Englishman on the same subject, and then judge whether that act had not “*established a raw*” on

the backs of the native-born Colonists. The writer is Major Parlby, who settled himself in the Eastern division of the Colony, but disgusted with the unrestrained habits of the servile population, and despairing of any amendment, after a successful trial of the capabilities of the Colony, abandoned it for ever :—

Again, I earnestly solicit the serious attention of my fellow countrymen at home to a generous consideration of the case of the older Colonists ; their's is a hard and cruel case of suffering inflicted upon them by the British nation, which arrogates to itself the character of generosity and magnanimity. If the Dutch inhabitants of this colony cannot understand the beauty of the principle on which the slave was made free, we should pity that want of education and expansion of mind, which would have resulted from it, and towards which desirable end, since our possession of the Cape, we have done nothing to assist. *But we have goaded them to desperation, we have plundered them of their property, and they are leaving our territories in countless numbers, execrating the name of England.* They have all their bibles, which many of them reverence and study —and they can fully understand the meanings of the following verses in the 21st Chapter of Exodus,—

“ And if a man smite his servant or his maid, with a rod, and he die under his hand, he shall be surely punished.”

“ Notwithstanding, if he continue a day or two, he shall not be punished ; for *he is his money.*”

What must they think of our nation, therefore, with all its boasting philanthropy, when many of them have been reduced from comfort to destitution by an act of the British Parliament !

I will here state my own case, rejoicing as I do, that slavery is at an end.

When I came to this colony, the only steady laborers were the present apprentices to improve and cultivate my Estate ; I purchased several for whom I paid the sum in real money of 11,050 Rds., or about £830. When these apprentices were appraised by the Appraisers appointed by the Government here, they were valued at 11,000 Rds., or £825. The following is what I have received, in Compensation :—

Cape Town, 9th August, 1837.

| | |
|--|-----------|
| <i>Statement of Major PARLBY's Claim for Slave Compensation, No. 2852, recovered in England.</i> | |
| Amount awarded at the Cape as per Commissioners' Report..... | £346 4 7 |
| Amount awarded by the Commissioners in London .. | 343 1 5 |
| Paid in Stock at 99 $\frac{7}{8}$ per Cent. | 343 10 0 |
| Produce of the Stock, 97 $\frac{3}{8}$ per cent | 334 9 6 |
| Amount received for Interest and Dividends..... | 24 19 7 |
| | £359 9 1 |
| Commission and charges recovery..... | £17 19 5 |
| Government Stamp..... | 1 10 0 |
| | 19 9 5 |
| | £339 19 8 |

Thus suffering a loss of £490 0 4.

Surely the case of the colonists is deserving of the immediate consideration of England. The rulers of our nation can yet redress the injuries inflicted upon us by their own act; they can direct, if they please, the tide of capital and emigration here—they can support us in all our laudable undertakings both in men and in money. They can assist in bringing forth for the mutual benefit of ourselves and our mother country, such useful undertakings as canals and public roads; they can do something to relieve our taxation, and much to encourage our education, and promote our industry—for this is a wonderful country, in climate, in capabilities, and in the elements of power and riches, which are daily springing into light, and which the late journey of Captain Alexander will in no slight degree contribute to.

As evidence of what the Colony was suffering from its abandonment by the Boers, a statement was made in the month of October of this year of the emigration from one single Field-cornetcy, that of the old and formerly flourishing TARKA District, by which it appears that 113 persons had deserted that small tract alone, with 102,600 sheep and goats, 6,900 black cattle and 1000 horses, depriving the Colony of a productive capital in value of not less than £60,000 sterling, besides its best and ablest defenders.

Stung to the quick by the increasing migration from the Colony, the anti-Colonial press, which had desired the movement, now demanded the most stringent proceedings against the farmers on the part of the Colonial Government ; and the *South African Commercial Advertiser*—the oracle of the *soi-disant* philanthropists—evoked the local government to pass “ Bills of Pains and Penalties” against emigrants, whom it had previous declared were placed beyond our control. The absurdity of the intemperate Editor’s views were thus happily placed in juxtaposition by the “ *Graham’s Town Journal.* ”

1836.

As soon as they (i. e. the emigrant farmers,) are beyond our jurisdiction, we have nothing more to do with them. We are not responsible for their conduct, *nor are they responsible to us.* They are as dead to the colony as if they had gone to France, or Tartary, or to China. Are they prepared for this total independence, or do they not see sure and quick destruction hovering over them.

due to them from the colony, until they have again submitted themselves to Her Majesty’s government,—with forfeitures and penalties for disobedience, as in the case of declared enemies.

The incessant and harrassing annoyance of Kafir Depredations, experienced by the inhabitants of the Frontier Districts, which forms a chief item of the grievances alleged to have been suffered by the emigrant Farmers, and a cause of their removal, was once more forcible brought before the notice of influential persons in England, but still with no satisfactory result. A body of the British settlers of 1820, known as the Clumber Party, located in the District of Albany, about this time addressed the Duke of Newcastle on the subject, of which the following notice was given at the moment :—

1837.

What then is the course indicated by these proceedings and events to the colonial and British government ? * * *

To summon Retief and his whole party to return forthwith to the colony, to answer such charges as may be brought against them by Her Majesty’s Attorney-General on pain of being outlawed, declared rebels, and treated as such wherever found. * * * To forbid the payment of all claims

"It may not be generally known, that a large party amongst the emigrants of 1820, were from the County of Nottingham, and that the *Duke of Newcastle*, whose family estates are there, took at that time great interest, and afforded considerable assistance in the execution of the project. This party was *located* in a fine country about five miles east of Bathurst,—the Village which they have formed, being named CLUMBER, after His Grace's Seat near Nottingham. Here they have exhibited much praiseworthy industry. The beautiful valley where they reside,—and which was a perfect wilderness on their arrival—now exhibits several comfortable dwellings, with delightful gardens, where the vine and a variety of fruit trees flourish with great luxuriance. In the centre of the hamlet, on a grassy knoll, stands a plain but substantial chapel, and near it the residence of the village schoolmaster, who—to the high credit of that body we record it—has been established there, and is supported by the *Wesleyan Society*. The inhabitants of this part of the settlement, are not only an industrious, but they are a religious people; and it is a scene calculated to afford the benevolent mind the most exquisite pleasure, to witness the inhabitants for miles round Clumber, flocking to their little chapel on the Sunday, and to hear the song of thanksgiving resound amongst the green hills, as with one voice they sing the praises of **THE GREAT CREATOR**. And not only do the white inhabitants thus assemble, but numbers of colored persons, consisting of Hottentots, Fingoies, and Bechuanas, repair thither also, and to whose instruction much attention is paid. This part of the settlement is better calculated to support a dense population than many others. Abounding in excellent limestone it affords considerable scope for industry, and a large proportion of the lime used for building purposes at Graham's Town is supplied from this neighbourhood. On the recent irruption of the Kafirs all the inhabitants were driven from their homes, and were full sharers in the ruin which was sustained by the frontier districts in general—and although they have resumed their usual occupations, they have not, by any means, recovered from that destructive inroad. Feeling, however, in common with their fellow sufferers, the great injustice with which they have been treated, and the supreme folly of the existing relations with the border tribes, they have addressed the following letter to His Grace the Duke of Newcastle, which we cannot hesitate to believe will be attended with the desired effect

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR GRACE,—

Although more than seventeen years have elapsed since we quitted the shores of our native land, and emigrated under the auspices of your Grace to this colony, yet we feel assured that your Grace has not lost that kind interest in our welfare, which you were then pleased so distinctly to manifest. Hence we are induced to

bring under your notice our present situation and circumstances, in the confident hope that we shall receive the aid of your Grace's powerful influence in our endeavors to obtain that justice and support to which we humbly conceive, as British subjects, we are fully entitled.

It will be known to your Grace as matter of history, that at the close of 1834 this colony was unexpectedly invaded by the neighboring Kafir Tribes; but it may not, perhaps, be so well understood that that inroad was the most unprovoked and savage irruption which had ever been made by that barbarous people into this settlement. In one week the whole of the border districts, along a line of ninety miles, was laid waste, many of the settlers murdered, and their dwellings fired, and immense booty carried off into the Kafir territory; whilst we in common with all the inhabitants of this part of the colony, were driven from our homes and cast upon the charity of the world, for food and shelter.

Without going farther into detail, or detaining your Grace with particulars of the military operations which took place consequent on this invasion, it will suffice for us to observe that the savages were ultimately subdued by the British forces, under the command of the Governor of the colony, Major-General Sir Benjamin D'Urban, in person; whilst the colony was placed in such a posture of defence, as to inspire the inhabitants with renewed confidence. *Such humane and wise restraints were also imposed on the Kafirs as would, there is every reason to believe, have led speedily to their civilization, as well as have effectually prevented them from making any future inroad into the colony.*

We have now to state to your Grace, that by order of the Secretary of State for the colonies these salutary measures have been entirely subverted, and that we and the other unfortunate sufferers have been treated in every respect as the *offending party*; a point which is distinctly affirmed in a despatch of the Secretary of State to Sir Benjamin D'Urban, as well as implied in a Treaty since made by the Lieut.-Governor of this Province with the invaders, containing articles of that impolitic and dangerous tendency, as cannot fail ultimately, if persisted in, to lead to the total ruin of this once flourishing settlement.

With respect to the charge of having irritated the savages to invade this settlement. We beg distinctly to assure your Grace, that it is utterly unfounded. The British Settlers have always been the friends of the Kafirs—and had never, **EVEN IN A SINGLE INSTANCE**, retaliated upon them for those murders and plundering which had been so often committed by them within the settlement, prior to that general irruption.

It is with poignant sorrow we also state to your Grace that many hundreds of the old Dutch colonists have already abandoned the

colony from a sense of insecurity; and that many more are preparing to follow them: but whilst this class of Colonists have adopted this extreme measure, the British population have resolved to maintain their ground, and to appeal to their country for redress of those grievances under which they labour.

Petitions have accordingly been prepared and transmitted for presentation to the Imperial Parliament; that to the House of Lords having been entrusted to His Grace the Duke of Wellington, and to the Commons, to Mr. W. Gladstone; and we now take the liberty most respectfully, of entreating the powerful aid of your Grace in furtherance of our object, and in defence of a deeply injured and oppressed people.

We take the liberty also of transmitting to your Grace by this post such public documents as may put your Grace in possession of those particulars to which we have merely referred in this communication.

With the highest respect, we remain,

Your Grace's most obedient humble servants:

Signed by all the members of the Clumber party still resident in the settlement of Albany.

The progress making by Retief while at his encampment at the Sand River, his views regarding a settlement in Dingaan's country, and his moderate intentions towards Matsellikatse, are stated in a letter from him, dated from his camp, on the 7th Sept. In the documents appended to this communication, it appears that the Griquas had been instigated to molest the emigrants, and it was generally believed in the colony at the time, that this instigation emanated from influential persons there, who were in constant correspondence with Waterboer and his chief advisers. It is to be hoped that this was mere calumny; but, if a malicious fiction, it bore so strong an impress of probability that it met with an easy admission into the minds of large numbers of the colonists. Retief not only warned the Griquas against aggression, while he propitiated peace and good-will with that people, but represented the matter to the Governor of the Colony:—

Sand River, 9th Sept., 1837.

"Our religious services are by no means neglected, but on the contrary earnestly and constantly conducted according to the established forms and principles of the Dutch Reformed Church. We

have, thank God, a truly good Divine amougst us, whom we acknowledge as a faithful shepherd to his flock. To our great grief this worthy man lately lost his son by fever in the 21st year of his age, which bereavement has been a sore trial to him and his wife. This malady has raged here a considerable time, but up to this period, no more than five persons have died from its effects. We cannot be too grateful to Almighty God for our wonderful preservation, and the many mercies bestowed upon us, Up to this moment we have not met with a difficult or dangerous road ; not a wagon has been upset or broken ; no want of grass or water has been felt ; no scarcity of game, fish, or honey ; no want of corn, melies, (maize) beans, potatoes or pumpkins. I have indeed often regretted that the natives, from so great a distance, bring us more than our necessities require, in exchange for sheep, goats and skins.

" We are thus going confidently forward, in the assurance that God, in His mercy, will lead us in safety ere long to the place of our destination. Had we known sooner that we should have found a passage over the " Draakberg" (Dragon Mountain) we should long ago have been at the end of our journey. From all accounts we had been led to believe that we should be compelled to travel round the point of that mountain, which would have led as considerably to the northward. Having, however, sent out a party to ascertain whether there was no probability of crossing it, they returned after an absence of 25 days with the glad tidings, that at five different points the whole encampment might cross this formidable barrier without difficulty or danger. This route, therefore, compared to that we had intended to take, will shorten our journey to Natal by full two months. We shall now travel due east, but as the pasturage between where we now are and the " Draakberg" has been set on fire and burnt, and as our sheep are lambing fast, I have considered it advisable for the encampment to continue where it is, while I proceed in person with a party of fifty men to Port Natal, and to the residence of the Zoola King Dingaan, having heard more from that quarter than I exactly like. I leave this on the 16th inst., and I go with confidence, knowing that my intentions are not evil but good. If it please God I shall be back at the encampment by the latter end of October.

" I have not as yet ascertained anything respecting Trechard. Reports have, however, reached me that Matselikatse has completed preparations for another attack upon us, and it is said he has issued a peremptory order to his men to conquer or die. Numbers of his people have in consequence deserted him. I have now given him abundance of time maturely to consider whether he will come to me, and atone for his evil deeds, or whether I shall be compelled to go to him. I am continually receiving reports that I am surrounded by enemies ; but I make myself perfectly easy, assured

that the Almighty arm will support those who are in the right. I have been visited by a certain Captain of the Bastards, and by several Field-cornets, as well as by private persons amongst the Coranias, who all persist, without any variation, that Waterboer has been instigated to get up a combined attack upon my encampments ; and that he had invited all the captains to a meeting to consult on the subject. Upon hearing this I sent letters to the several captains, of which I enclose a copy, (see document No 1,) and which will put you in possession of all the particulars. In addition to these reports, I have also received several communications from the Hantam and Orange River, begging me to be on my guard, as there was mischief brewing against me. * * * * *

I have heard that great apprehensions are entertained in the Colony that we shall treat Matzalikatse too harshly, and which I also perceive are your feelings, as expressed in one of your letters. *Rest assurcd that I can thank God I do not possess a thirst for blood, or an unfeeling heart ; but while I take care not to act with undue severity, I shall be equally guarded that I do not by indecision increase the evil. I have seen too much of the disasters which have befallen the Colony from a want of promptitude, not to be wary on that subject. It is enougn that I have been taking lessons on your frontier for the last twenty-two years, and know what should be done or what should be left undone.* The better to shew you my views respecting the colored classes, I now enclose you the copy of a letter circulated by me (document No. 2,) as also a communication addressed by me to the Governor at Cape Town (No. 3). I had considered that His Excellency, and my countrymen, would both be deceived by false reports, and I thought it better that they should learn my sentiments from myself than through the channel of public report.

I have not left my native land to live in darkness with the British Government, or my countrymen, who are left behind, but my anxious desire is to have free intercourse with them. * * *

" From the great quantity of cattle with us, we have been compelled to divide into several parties ; but I am happy to say we have not here the plague of cattle-stealers. The cattle which sometimes stray, are brought after us from 6 to 7 days journey, by the Marole's people, under the chief Maroko, and for which I remunerate them. Mr. Archbell (Wesleyan Missionary) deserves the highest praise for the manner and character of the institution established by him amongst this people, and it is to be wished that all those who profess to teach and lead the uncivilized would take a lesson by him, and endeavor to conduct them in the same paths of religion, industry and justice.

P. RETIEF.

No. 1.

TO THE GRIQUA CAPTAINS.

Sand River, July 18, 1837.

Captains,— In consequence of several depositions made before me, by some of your Captains, as well as by other individuals, there remains no doubt in my mind, that Waterboer has been incited and bribed, to induce you all to combine with him in making a treacherous attack upon my several encampments. As a Christian I advise you all first to wait and see the result of Matsellikatse's treachery against us. *Rest assured that we shall not attack or interfere with any tribe or people : but on the contrary you may also rely upon it, that whoever interferes with us, will have to rue it for ever after.* We have been induced to quit our native land, after sustaining enormous losses, and depend upon it that we have not taken this step to lead a worse, but a better life. On the other hand I have also to inform you that I have not been elected as the chief of this people by my own act, or even by the general voice of the people ; but I have sufficient reasons to recognise the hand of God in placing me at the head of my countrymen. Let it, therefore, be sufficient for you to know that I can fearlessly call upon God, and may safely depend upon His mighty arm. Be, therefore, again assured, that as long as it may please Him to allow me to govern over this people, *no nation or tribe, of whatever class or color, will be molested by me or my dependants* ; and that all who suffer themselves to be misled by designing men, to set themselves against me and my possessions by murder or plunder, will assuredly see that I shall act with inflexibility, and that my coming will be sure and their punishment certain.

I must also call to your recollection the awful visitation of God upon you, after your unlawful, murderous, and plundering attack upon Matsellikatse ; when you were assembled in such great strength, and on your side alone so many hundred men, horses, weapons, &c., were lost. In this alone you may see the just reward of those who go out to strife without the aid of the Almighty. On the other hand it will also be well for you, for us, and for the world, to remark, how wonderfully God has enabled us, with so weak a force, to stand against the frightful and superior numbers of Matsellikatse. Be, therefore, advised by me, as your sincere friend, to consider the subject well before you take the advice of bad men, that you may not plunge yourselves into acts which you may for ever repent. I may also tell you, that I have never wished unnecessarily to shed the blood of my fellow creatures ; and I, therefore, consider it desirable for you all to know that I have already got six Field-commandants, with their Field-cornets and men, in good order and discipline, and that these divisions consist

of from 100 to 150 men each, and that according to several letters just received by me, I shall have 250 men more by the latter end of next month (August). My strength, therefore, increases every day, and I am continually moving further on ;—it will consequently be well for you to remark, and I mention it to show how little I regard your hostility, that the longer you delay to attack me, the greater the difficulty and danger will become to you.

What is more, I have been informed that wagons journeying to my encampments have been unlawfully attacked and plundered by Bastards or Corannas ; let this, therefore, be a warning to you, that if I again hear of such acts, those implicated will have to abide the consequences.

I have further been informed that a combination exists among you, to proceed to Matsellikatse, to make yourselves masters of our plundered wagons and other property now in the possession of that chief ; I, therefore, again most earnestly warn you, that I will unceasingly pursue, and eventually punish as robbers, every person, without distinction, who may commit such an unjustifiable act. Matsellikatse has now alone to do with me, and I will give him sufficient time to decide whether he shall come to me to atone for his atrocious conduct, or whether I am to go to him to punish him for his enormities.

What is more, I have been repeatedly informed that Waterboer is busily engaged with some Captains in getting up a Commando to come to me, under the pretext of joining me against Matsellikatse—and thus getting an opportunity of attacking me ; whereupon I have to inform you, that I do not require Waterboer's assistance ; and if he thinks by his Bosjesman or * * * * sophistry to dig a pit for me, he may rest satisfied that he will find himself suddenly plunged into it. Waterboer may be certain that he is narrowly watched. All Captains, Field-cornets, or whoever it be among you that wish to see me, shall be most welcome. It is my particular desire, and I shall feel most happy, to have an opportunity of seeing and conversing with all your Captains, the result of which will be more to your own happiness and advantage than to mine. I, however, find myself obliged to prohibit any who comes to see me, from approaching my encampment with more than 12 followers. as larger parties will be looked upon at all my encampments as enemies and be dealt with as such.

I have further to inform you all, that on my arrival at Blesberg. I concluded a Treaty of peace and amity with Morocke and Towana, as Chiefs of the Moroles tribe, and that they have from the date thereof not only convinced me that they and their people will strictly adhere thereto, but they are even now doing so by sending after me, at distances of five and six day's journey, all our strayed cattle. Morocke has acquainted me that certain Corannas had de-

clared their intention of attacking him, robbing him of his cattle, and burning his village. My answer to him was as follows:— Moroko,—keep yourself innocent from crimes against all nations and tribes; you know that I have sworn fidelity to you, as you have also sworn to me; adhere to your engagements with me; and let it be sufficient for you that I again say, that whoever injures you, injures me; and that whether I am near to, or far from you, send me word, and you will speedily have your friend to your assistance.

You will perceive from this what advantages such Treaties are calculated to confer upon a people; and may I not, therefore, ask you, why cannot we all, without distinction, unite ourselves in the same bonds of friendship? Again may I ask you, *why should this beautiful and fertile country, so bountifully blessed by Providence and which can be so advantageously occupied, be any longer looked upon as an insecure wilderness, abounding in deeds of murder and plunder?* It will, therefore, now be your faults if we do not convert it into a peaceful and happy country.

I now finally declare to you with a clear conscience, that it is not my wish to lead a single benighted and uncivilized being astray, much less do I desire to see their blood shed while in that state; my sincere wish, on the contrary, is to enlighten them, to lead them from their wicked ways, and to instruct them in the principles of the Christian faith. I presume that you have ministers of the Gospel among you, who will assuredly explain to you the will of God respecting his creatures; and if you then, in opposition to your better judgment, as I have been informed, persevere in your wicked deeds, then I must tell you that the word of God teaches us plainly, that an awful day of retribution will await such offenders, in the presence of a living God; If, however, your instructors, as their duty compels them, have not endeavored, or are not even now endeavoring, to reclaim you from the ways of sin, then according to the word of God, a much more awful judgment will await them.

Now, Captains, let this be enough to induce you to consider what is the best for you to do. I will in conclusion, in accordance with my duty as a Christian, again offer to you all, without distinction, my real and lasting friendship, the same as I have done to all tribes and shall continue to do. I also conjure you to accept and preserve the same, and with the blessing of God, I trust that it will be to our mutual benefit and happiness. If you determine on rejecting my overtures of peace, you may hereafter repent it. I now fully trust, that with the blessing of God, my sincere and earnest desires, as herein communicated, will be abundantly useful to you,—and that I may ere long see that the present race of benighted beings inhabiting this country, will be bound together in the bonds

of peace and friendship. On the other hand, I am fully convinced that such who may stubbornly refuse to enter into these desirable relations, will soon see and feel that they are contending with a mighty God ! If there be any among you who imagine any difficulty in entering into these engagements, let them come to me, and I will endeavor to convince them to the utmost of my power. *See and hear now, ye Captains, Field-cornets, and other rulers of your people ; I have acquitted myself before God, of my duties to you as a Christian ; my last wish is, that the day may soon come when I shall see you all united in truth and brotherly love.*

I remain, Captains,

Your real Friend,

(Signed) P. RETIEF,

Commander of the United Encampments,

No. 2.

INSTRUCTIONS TO THE COMMANDANTS.

Art. 1. Every person shall be bound to obey the Field-commandant in the execution of his office,—and in the event of disobedience the offender shall be liable to a penalty of five Rds, for the first offence, and of double for the second and third offence.

2. The Commandant must furnish himself with a list of his Field-cornets, and the number of men attached to each, in order to take proper care that each man without favor or distinction, performs his share of duty.

3. The Commandant is required to be diligent in sending out the necessary patrols; also to station and relieve the night guards in the several encampments, and which guards must be placed at nine o'clock in the evening, or earlier, as occasion may require.

4. The Commandant will, during the present insecurity, take care that at least a whole encampment or more moves forward at once, as occasion may require; in which case, to prevent confusion and accident, no person will be permitted, without first having obtained leave from the Commandant, to move off to any place in front

5. The Commandant will, on extraordinary occasions, apply to the Commander of the encampment, or in his absence, to the President of the Court of Polity, (Raad van Poltie) for the purposes of consultation and receiving instructions in what manner he is to act under the circumstances of the case; notwithstanding which the Commandant is empowered to take any steps, where the emergency of the case may require it, without consulting the Commander or President of the Court of Polity, with the understanding that he will at all times be held responsible for the steps so taken.

6. The Commandant will take especial care that no innocent blood be shed by the patrols, or, otherwise ; but he is nevertheless empowered to use his fire arms should necessity require him so to do.

7. The Commandant will be diligent in preventing the pasturage from being unnecessarily burnt ; and whenever this may happen during the journey, he is to endeavor to find out the guilty parties, that they may be immediately punished in conformity to the existing laws ; and under such circumstances the Commandant is empowered to direct his Field-cornets, with their men to put out such fire as quickly as possible.

8. The Commandant is also carefully to watch against the unnecessary killing of game, as he will be bound to report those committing such offence, without distinction of persons, and who will be fined in a penalty not exceeding One Hundred Rix Dollars, and not less than Ten Rix Dollars, to be decided by the judgment of the authorities, according to the circumstances of the case.

9. The Commandant and his Field-cornets will take the utmost possible care that *no servants, of whatever class or color, are ill used ; as he will be bound immediately to report the guilty parties, without any distinction, in order that they may be punished according to the laws provided under this head,*

10. *The Commandant will also take particular care that no person possesses himself by violence of the children of Bosjesman or other aboriginal tribes, that he does not entrap them in an unlawful manner, nor take them away from their parents or relatives, nor keep them in his possession. Any person offending, to pay a fine of not more than One Hundred Rixdollars, and not less than Fifty Rixdollars ;—neither will it be permitted for any person unlawfully to molest any tribe or people that may be met with on the journey.*

11. The Commandant will, for neglect of duty, be subject to a penalty not exceeding One Hundred and Fifty Rix Dollars, and not less than Five Rix Dollars—according to the judgment of the authorities, and the circumstances of the case.

12. The Commandant will, at the expiration of every month, duly report to the Governor, and in his absence to the President of the Court of Polity, every circumstance that may have taken place in the execution of his duties.

Thus done and statuted, on Friday, the 21st June, 1837.

By authority of the Governor and Council,

(Signed)

P. RETIEF.

INSTRUCTIONS FOR THE FIELD-CORNETS.

Art. 1. Every person will be bound to obey the Field-cornet in the execution of his duties ; for contumacy the offenders to be subject

to a penalty of five Rix Dollars for the first offence, and of double for the second and third.

2. The Field-cornet will provide himself with a proper list of his men, in order that every person may perform the same share of duty without favor or distinction.

3. The Field-cornet will be bound continually to receive his instructions from the Commandant; but whenever necessity requires, he is also authorised to take such steps as he may think proper, with the understanding that he is at all times to be held responsible for the steps so taken.

4. In case of disobedience or neglect of duty, the Field-cornet will be subject to a fine not exceeding Sixty Rix Dollars, and not less than Five Rix Dollars, according to the judgment of the authorities and the circumstances of the case.

Thus done and statuted, on Friday, the 21st of June, 1837.

By authority of the Governor and Council,

(Signed)

P. RETIEF.

No. 3.

To His Excellency the Governor and Commander-in-Chief of Cape of Good Hope.

The Undersigned, Conductor and Chief of the United Encampments, hereby

HUMBLY SHEWETH,—

That, as subjects of the British Government, we, in our depressed circumstances, repeatedly represented our grievances to *His Majesty's Government*; but in consequence of finding all our efforts to obtain redress fruitless, we at length resolved to abandon the land of our birth, to avoid making ourselves guilty of any act which might be construed into strife against our own Government.

That this abandonment of our country has occasioned us incalculable losses,—but that, notwithstanding all this, we cherish no animosity towards the English nation.

That in accordance with this feeling, commerce between us and the British merchants will, on our part, be freely entered into and encouraged; with the understanding, however, that we are acknowledged as a free and independent people.

That we have understood with deep regret that nearly all the aborigines and tribes by whom we are at present surrounded, have been instigated to attack us; but that although we find ourselves in a position to confront and defy all our enemies, we nevertheless humbly request your Excellency, as far as it may be in your power, to use your authority and influence to repress such hostilities, in order that we may not be compelled to shed the blood of our fellow-creatures, as has recently been the case in consequence of the attack of Matsellikatse upon us.

That we trust soon to convince the world of our conduct and deeds, that it is not, and never was, our intention unlawfully to molest any of the native tribes ; but that we, on the contrary, set the highest value on universal peace and goodwill among men.

That, finally, we confidently hope that the British Government will permit us to receive all such claims and demands as may be lawfully due to us in the colony.

I have the honor to be,
Your Excellency's obedient humble servant,
(Signed) P. RETIEF.

Sand River, July 21, 1837.

Another attempt was now again essayed to test the virtues of the notorious "CAPE PUNISHMENT BILL," with what effect and with what degree of credit for so very grave and important a piece of legislation, will be seen by the following Report of Proceedings :—

CIRCUIT COURT, GRAAFF-REINET.

SATURDAY, 28th OCTOBER, 1837.

Plaatje Plaatjes, Jan Ambraal, Johannes Burman, Uithaalder Ambraal ; these prisoners were placed at the bar, for shooting a native residing at the Bethulie Institution, *beyond the boundaries* of the colony, and which crime was supposed to come under the Cape of Good Hope Punishment Bill, and which bill the inhabitants at Port Natal so loudly proclaimed unjust, when Capt. Gardiner arrived to enforce it in that part of the world.

The Clerk of the Peace prayed postponement of this case, as he was not prepared to prove that the culprits were, at the time of the commission of the crime, Her Majesty's subjects, but trusted by next circuit to be able to do so.

Mr. Advocate Musgrave, for the prisoners, stated, that this was a case which he considered the Clerk of the Peace ought to have no leniency shewn him, and urged the trial.

The Chief Justice.—Are you prepared with an affidavit, Mr. Clerk of the Peace ? To which he replied he was not.

Chief Justice.—Then you must go to trial ; for it would be unjust to put the prisoners upon their trial twice for their lives, in order that the Attorney-General might fish up more evidence against them. The Attorney-General should not have indicted them if he had not sufficient evidence.

The prisoners were then arraigned.

Mr. Advocate Musgrave pleaded jurisdiction to the court.

Chief Justice.—This you should state to the jury.

The Clerk of the Peace then stated the facts of the case, and which he intended to prove.

Mr. Musgrave again pleaded jurisdiction to the court, and maintained according to the rules he was correct.

The Chief Justice referred to the rule quoted by the learned Advocate, and acknowledged his error, and sat corrected.

Mr. Musgrave then made a most eloquent speech on the Act of Parliament, and stated that *a more unjust and oppressive Act had perhaps never been passed*. *Here was a law framed—not against the class of people which unfortunately were now placed at the bar—but directed against the unfortunate trek boers, who had been driven from the land of their birth by the oppression of the British Government,—that this law had been given to a certain “party” in England; but in the hurry the most material parts had been omitted, viz.: the machinery to work this law,—that as the Act now stood, it was but a piece of waste paper,—that before a case could be tried fresh powers must be granted—that the charter only authorised the judges of the colony to try such crimes as were committed within the colony, and not adjacent to it,—that if his Lordship, who now sat as a Judge, and whose warrant was solely under that charter, should sentence a criminal to be executed, and who was executed when he had no law to bear him out; then his Lordship would stand a fair chance of being tried as a murderer. That the act provides for the creation of such courts to try these sort of cases, but where are these courts to be found? then again, the best evidence is required, when, in all probability, the Clerk of the Peace will produce a piece of paper which he calls a chart, to shew the degree of south latitude; but this won’t do; for if the British Parliament choose to frame an absurd law, they must make up their minds to bear the heavy expense of enforcing it; consequently no other evidence less than an experienced person, who has taken the necessary observations on the spot where the alleged murder was supposed to have been committed, could be admissible.* Besides (the learned counsel maintained) that the prisoners at the bar were not her Majesty’s subjects, but Tambookies inhabiting the territories adjacent to the colony; and, according to the 4th section of the celebrated Act in question, were not amenable to the laws of the colony but to the tribes of such territory; that to constitute a British subject he should at least be born under the British flag, and the mere residing in the colony for a time does not constitute him a British subject, but only makes him amenable to the laws of the country during his residence there; and as soon as an individual steps beyond the boundary of the colony, then he is no longer answerable to the laws of the colony, but subject to the laws where he resides. The learned counsel here pointed out the absurdity of bringing persons from beyond the boundaries, where they have committed crimes, to

be tried according to colonial laws ; *for if they were acquitted here, they were still amenable to the laws of the land in which the crime was committed, and thus subject to be tried twice, by two different laws* ; that if a boer migrates beyond the boundary, and is assaulted by a native, and he kills the native there, he is to be brought back into the colony and hanged, *but forsooth if the native kills the boer no notice is taken of it, and the murderer is allowed to roam the country with impunity*, and this is the unjustice of the Act to which he alluded,—that the people who framed this act, on the application of a “*certain individual*,” could never have read it, *for it is nothing but one mass of absurdity, and cannot be enforced*. The learned council also objected to the indictment, on the grounds that the crime was against a certain statute, and therefore this should have been set forth in the indictment, and which he considered a very material defect.

The Clerk of the Peace maintained that the court had jurisdiction to try the case, that it had been brought into the Supreme Court, and by order of that Court removed to the circuit, consequently the Supreme Court had granted the jurisdiction.

The Chief Justice stated, that from the facts pointed out by the counsel for the prisoners, he really did not see how he could try the case, and considered the objection taken against the indictment to be fatal, and ordered a verdict of acquittal to be recorded.

The Clerk of the Peace moved that the prisoners be remanded, as he had another charge of theft against them. They were remanded accordingly.

MONDAY, 30th OCTOBER.

Plaatje Plaatjes, Jan Ambraal, Johannes Buurman, and Uithaander Ambraal ; these were the same prisoners who had been placed at the bar on the Saturday and remanded.

Mr. Musgrave made a motion to have the prisoners discharged, as the crime of theft of which they were accused was precisely the same as that for which they had been acquitted,—that the theft took place beyond the boundaries, and he considered that it would not be in strict accordance with justice to have them detained in prison six months longer.

The Clerk of the Peace maintained that it was a very different case ; that the prisoners in this case were apprehended near Colesberg, in the colony, with the stolen cattle in their possession, consequently it was a continuation of the offence.

Mr. Musgrave stated, that it had been ruled by the twelve-judges in England, that if a man steal anything in Germany, and bring it over to London, he must be indicted in Germany, and not in London, and maintained that the magistrate had no right to commit the prisoners ; that if they with a laudable intention of serving the government did so, they must take the consequences.

The Chief Justice, after making some remarks, ordered the prisoners to be discharged, and observed that he did not see that any magistrate had the power under the Act of Parliament to commit any person to prison for crimes committed beyond the boundary, and the magistrates in fact had no power to take any proceeding, and therefore incurred a very great responsibility. This remark was highly appreciated, because the Colesberg magistrate, who had committed the prisoners for the different crimes, happened to be present, and no doubt will profit by it.

But while all this useless waste of words and ink was being made, His Majesty's Secretary of State for the Colonies, Lord Glenelg, the ready instrument of the *soi disant* philanthropic party, in a despatch, dated the 29th of October, cleared the subject of much of its difficulty ; he expressly denied all claim upon Natal—all intention to Colonize, and, more than all the utter inapplicability of the Cape Punishment Bill, that abortive act, to any place beyond the borders of the Colony, and even when he starts at the idea of the assumption of independence on the part of the Emigrants, and says it will never be admitted, he is met by the same difficulty which he acknowledged the Cape Punishment Bill had to suffer, namely, the want of “a police and ministers of justice,” “at a point so distant as Port Natal.”

Capt. Gardiner, who had been armed with that piece of “waste paper,” the “Punishment Bill,” and was created a justice of the peace under it, seems to have conceived the government was pledged to carry out the whole of its provisions, but the secretary soon disabused him of his error, as will be seen by the following extract from the Despatch in question :—

“ His Majesty's government were of course aware, that the statute in question, however valuable it might prove for the punishment and prevention of offences in the immediate vicinity of the colony, could have very little practical efficacy *at a point so distant as Port Natal*.

“ They were aware too of the fact that without a police, jail, and ministers of justice, the value of such a statute would be comparatively small, but they did not on this account deem it right to forgo the use of the best attainable remedy against the lawless conduct of British subjects, on the African continent.

" Capt. Gardiner seems to have understood the statute in question, as implying a pledge on behalf of the British government to do all that is necessary for giving complete effect to the jurisdiction with which it invests him.

" It is necessary, therefore, to deny the existence of any such implied or tacit engagement. *His late Majesty disclaimed, in the most distinct terms, all right of sovereignty at Port Natal, and all disposition to extend his dominions in that direction,* and Capt. G. has been distinctly informed by me that His late Majesty's government entertained no projects of colonization in that quarter.

" *Port Natal is a foreign land, governed by foreign chiefs, and the government of this country has neither the right nor the desire to interfere with the authority of those chiefs.* By providing for the punishment of crimes of British subjects, committed within their borders, some encroachment is indeed made on the integrity of this abstract principle, but that encroachment is strictly confined within the limits of the necessity, by which it has been occasioned, and is justified.

" The settlers of Port Natal describe it as a free country, and complain of the interference of Parliament. These persons would appear to entertain views which cannot be too soon or too fully corrected. They have not ceased to be subjects of the Queen, or to be responsible to Her Majesty's courts and officers. They must either be in local allegiance to the sovereign of the country in which they live, or in a local, as well as personal, allegiance to their native sovereign.

" The pretensions they make to constitute a free independent state is so extravagant that I hardly suppose that it has been seriously put forward. Assuredly such a pretension will not be admitted by Her Majesty's Government, or by any other foreign state within the precincts of the civilised world, whatever may be the light in which these settlers may be regarded by the chiefs of the rude tribes with whom they are living."

Commandant Retief having broke up his Camp at the Sand River, proceeded towards Natal, where he arrived on the 19th of October, having first opened a correspondence with Dingaan, the particulars of which are given by the various actors in the scenes in the following documents :—

Port Natal, 24th October, 1837.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE GRAHAM'S TOWN JOURNAL :

SIR,—Knowing, from the tenor of the remarks which have appeared at various times in your valuable and independent journal, on the affairs of this infant colony, that you

have a friendly feeling towards it, and wish for its prosperity, I am induced to trouble you with these few lines.

The arrival of Mr. Retief and a party of emigrants at this place, on the 19th inst., with a view to their final settlement, was hailed by us as a matter of no small moment. The conviction that we shall for the future be permitted to live in peace, and be freed from the constant, though idle, threats of Dingaan, has infused a lively spirit amongst us. We can now proceed with confidence, and an assurance that our future exertions will be no longer cramped by doubts of our stability, but be rewarded with the fruits of our industry.

I enclose you the copy of an address, which was unanimously agreed to by all the resident inhabitants that could be collected on so short a notice, to Mr. Retief and his party, which I hope will find a place in your paper. Mr. Retief sets off this day to enter into a treaty with Dingaan, but he had previously transmitted to the king a letter announcing the object of the intended visit, a copy of which I also transmit to you.

I am, &c.

A. BIGGAR.

(Copy):

Port Natal, Oct. 12, 1837.

To the Chief of the Zoolas,—

I embrace this opportunity of your messengers' return to inform you, that it is my ardent wish to have a personal interview, in order to prevent any vague reports that may reach you respecting the intentions of the party who have left the colony, and wish to settle in the uninhabited country adjoining the Zoola territories.

It is our fervent desire to live at peace with the Zoola nation. Reports no doubt have reached you of your late rupture with Mat-selikatse, arising from the frequent and daring plunders of that tribe, and in consequence of which it became absolutely necessary to declare war, having tried in every possible way to adjust the differences, but without avail. I leave in a few days for the Zoola country to arrange with you our future relations.

Hoping for ever to live at peace and good understanding with the Zoola nation is the sincere wish of

Your true Friend,

(Signed) P. RETIEF, Governor, &c.

P.S.—Our party having parted, should any or all of them arrive in the Zoola country before me, it is my wish you will allow them a free pass to join us.

(A true copy.)

A. BIGGAR.

PORT NATAL.

A public meeting of the resident inhabitants of Port Natal was held at that place on the 23d day of Oct., 1837, when the following

address was voted to Pieter Retief, Esq. and deputation of emigrant farmers, and presented by A. Biggar, Esq., who was accompanied by the principal residents then assembled.

ADDRESS TO MR. PIETER RETIEF BY THE BRITISH RESIDENTS
AT PORT NATAL.

We the undersigned, inhabitants (original settlers) of Port Natal, hail with sincere pleasure the arrival of the deputation from the emigrant farmers, under Pieter Retief, Esq., their governor.

We beg they will present our good wishes to their constituents, and assure them generally of our desire to meet them as friends, and eventually as neighbours, and of our wishes that a mutual good understanding may at all times prevail amongst us.

| | |
|------------------------|---------------|
| (Signed) Alex. Biggar, | C. Pickman, |
| John Cane, | John Kemble, |
| H. Ogle, | Chas. Adams, |
| J. D. Steller, | Thos. Carden, |
| D. C. Toohey, | W. Bottomley, |
| George Biggar, | F. Flynn, |
| Thos. Holstead, | R. King. |

To which address the following reply was made :—

Port Natal, Oct. 23d, 1837.

Gentlemen,—After the very flattering reception experienced by me, on my arrival at Port Natal, I have no cause to regret my very arduous journey of 90 hours. With heart and hand I declare to you that the sentiments expressed by you, are those I also cherish. I have no doubt, therefore, but that the Almighty disposer of events will cause us to unite together for our mutual welfare.

If it please God, I intend communicating further with you on my return from Dingaan.

I remain, gentlemen,
your obt. servant and faithful Friend,
(Signed) P. RETIEF.

A. Biggar, Esq., and other gentlemen who signed the address.

Retief's own account of his proceedings will be found in the letter below :—

Port Natal, October 23d, 1837.

"With much pleasure I inform you, that after a very arduous journey of 90 hours, I arrived here with my fellow travellers in good health on the 20th inst. Mr. Maritz and Field-commandant Stephanus Erasmus, whom I had arranged to meet on the 1st of Oct on the Draakberg—not having arrived at the appointed time, I

waited for them six days, and at last conjectured that they must have crossed the mountain at some other point,—and which I still fear, as Mr. Maritz proceeded directly due east. He was much further to the northward than myself, and although I shaped my course to the south-east, I was even then compelled, on the last day, to proceed in a line directly south. I fear that if Maritz has done the same, he will come out upon Dingaan's territory, and that he will not be very welcome, as I have been given to understand that Dingaan will not recognise as friends any persons who come from the direction of Matsellikatse. During the whole of my journey of six months, I have not experienced so much difficulty as in the last tour of 90 hours. From Draakberg to Port Natal I have crossed five nearly perpendicular acclivities,—the first took us six hours with the wagons, the others less ; in some places we greatly fatigued our horses in riding right and left to find a path to descend,—as also in crossing large rivers and valleys, through which we could not find a passage for considerable distances ; and as during the whole of that time we did not fall in with a single soul, we were obliged to find our way in the best manner we could. The merciful kindness and protection of Almighty God, hitherto extended to us, we must ever most gratefully acknowledge.

"I have now, from all accounts, travelled through the worst parts of the Natal country, and which I have found tolerably well suited for cattle and agricultural purposes. On this subject, however, I will write you at length on my return from Dingaan.

"I am extremely desirous to see and to speak to Dingaan ; it is much feared here that I shall not succeed in obtaining an interview. I, however, fear not, as my conscience tells me that I go, not to do harm, but good. It is possible that I shall not succeed in my object, without a great deal of difficulty, and which I must patiently endure, as I consider it one of the most important matters for us to see him speedily. I also believe that the chief Sinkajala has committed a daring robbery upon Dingaan, and which the latter may lay to our charge,—as the rascal went out with a commando on horseback, to Dingaan's country, and returned from thence with upwards of two hundred head of cattle, and twenty or thirty *red* sheep, with which he passed my encampment ; I have since ascertained here that he has robbed Dingaan of these cattle."

That the Kafir invasion of 1834—the neglect of compensating the sufferers for their losses by the savages, and the actual permission of the Lieut. Governor Stockenstrom, were the causes of the extension of the abandonment of the colony by our "yeomen," unquestionably "the finest peasantry in the world," may be seen by the annexed letter from one of the

most respectable and opulent farmers who resided in the District of Uitenhage, but who joined his fellow sufferers across the boundary :—

“ Sterrenberg Spruit, Dec. 4, 1837.

“ The acts of my countryman Stockenstrom was my greatest reason for quitting the colony. What have the frontier inhabitants not had to endure, from time to time, from the Kafirs, and more particularly by the last war, or unexpected invasion? I have served the British government for many years, in the district of Uitenhage, as a burgher of the country, commencing with the year 1811 to the present period, with the greatest alacrity, and without the least remuneration. I have labored with my hands, and endeavored to bring up my family respectably; and when I found myself in a condition to do so, the Kafir banditti came and stripped me of all, as was the case in 1819 and again in 1834. By the last invasion I only retained 5 oxen and 7 calves, and not a single cow did the Kafirs leave me out of 74 milch cows, of the best Fatherland breed, and which were worth Rds. 50 each. What, therefore, have I left after many years of toil and anxiety? Absolutely *nothing!* My only consolation is, that what has so long been done in the dark, will one day be brought by the Almighty Ruler of Heaven and Earth, to the full blaze of day,—to Him alone belongs the vengeance! * * * How does it happen that the greatest vituperation is now lavished upon the poor farmers, by a certain party, for quitting the colony? Did not the LIEUT.-GOVERNOR HIMSELF tell us that we were at liberty to go? from whence comes it, then, that we are now blamed for doing so?”

The following remarks of the Editor of the “ Meditator,” a Cape Town periodical, may well conclude this part of the compilation of “ THE NATAL PAPERS:”—

Whence is it that the emigration is not confined to a small party of contemptible adventurers, who have nothing to lose, and who have no other resource, but to seek, beyond the circle of civilization, for an asylum which society denies them; but embraces whole families, and hundreds of industrious cultivators of the soil, respectable Colonists, who abandon of a sudden their friends and their possessions, their fine climate, all the advantages of a community protected by the laws, and liberty to enjoy all the privileges of civilized society, to reject in one word, all that renders life supportable, to wander at hazard in unhospitable regions, without any consolation, but a desperate hope, without any other impelling cause than to fly from—what? From Plague?—From War?—From Earthquake?

No! From the paternal Government of His Honor the Lieutenant Governor. Assuredly his fatherly protection must have been an extraordinary one, to compel them to make so great a sacrifice. True it is, the *Advertiser* denies that His Honor's Government has the most remote connection with this emigration, but the very denial of this Journal establishes the fact.

We say, that even admitting that there had been several instances of desertion from certain districts of the interior, before Capt. Stockenstrom's administration, they were isolated cases, *few and far between*, and never in any shape endangering the prosperity of the colony; while since the Eastern Province has been blessed by his government, the *Emigration HAS BECOME GENERAL*, and it goes on daily, to an alarming extent. If then the Colonists were unfortunate prior to his assuming the government, we may naturally conclude, that, far from ameliorating their condition, he has rendered it more deplorable. At any rate, it is a matter of public notoriety, that hitherto the *Kafir Nation* has been the chief object of his paternal solicitude. The compliment now paid him by his fellow-countrymen,—for no one (but himself,) will forget that his Honor is a Native African, is therefore as intelligible as it is emphatical—“Rather than live under your laws we prefer to go to die among the Kafirs.” This does not seem to us to be a very flattering compliment to the “*fittest man*,” of the *Advertiser*, but there may be reasons why his Honor should be so highly *esteemed* by them. With this, be it as it may, we have nothing to do. Our object is to take into view what measures Government may find it expedient to adopt at the present juncture.

The numbers of wagons between the Orange River and the Draakberg range of Mountains, which skirt the country of Natal, is estimated at this time at 1,500, and certainly the number of souls could not be less than Fifteen Thousand, all in the highest spirits as they neared the goal, and delighted with the country, which they stated far exceeded the celebrated Oliphant's Hoek in the District of Uitenhage.

Retief preceded his party in order to open relations with the King Dingaan, who had been the first to suggest to a party of Dutch Farmers, while hunting in his dominions, the idea of an emigration to Natal. The following is an account of Retief's reception, as given by himself, and published in the “Graham's Town Journal:”—

*Extract of a letter from Mr. P. Retief, dated Port Natal,
Nov. 18, 1837.*

"Dingaan received me with much kindness, but has at the same time imposed a difficult task upon me, as you will see from the copy of his letter (marked No. 2). He finally told me with a smile on his countenance—"you do not yet know me, nor I you, and, therefore, we must become better acquainted." The King did not give me an audience, on the subject of my mission, till the third day after my arrival. He said I must not be hasty, and that as I had come from a great distance to see him, I must have rest, and partake of some amusement. During two days his people were engaged in exhibiting their national dances, and in warlike manœuvres. The first day upwards of two thousand of his youngest soldiers were assembled, and on the following day his elder warriors were exhibited to the number of four thousand. Their dances and manœuvres were extremely imposing and interesting. Their sham fights are terrific exhibitions. They make a great noise with their shields and kieries, uttering at the same time the most discordant yells and cries. In one dance the people were intermingled with 176 oxen, all without horns and of one color. They have long strips of skin hanging pendant from the forehead, cheeks, shoulders, and under the throat, and which are cut from the hide when calves. These oxen are divided into two's and three's among the whole army, which then dances in companies, each with its attendant oxen. In this way they all in turn approach the King, the oxen turning off into a kraal, and the warriors moving in a line *from* the King. It is surprising that the oxen should be so well trained; for notwithstanding all the shouting and yelling which accompanies this dance, yet they never move faster than a slow walking pace. Dingaan showed me also, as he said, his *smallest* herd of oxen, all alike, red with white backs. He allowed two of my people to count them, and the enumeration amounted to two thousand four hundred and twenty-four. I am informed that his herds of red and black oxen consist of three to four thousand each.

"The King occupies a beautiful habitation. The form is spherical, and its diameter is 20 feet. It is supported in the interior by 22 pillars, which are entirely covered with beads. The floor is perfectly smooth, and shines like a mirror. His barracks consist of 1,700 huts, each capable of accommodating twenty warriors. But since its return from the expedition against Matsellikatse, his army is at an outpost. The King behaved to me with great kindness during all the time I was with him.

"Of the missionaries here, in general, I cannot speak too highly of their extreme kindness and attention. I visited Capt. Gardener

on my way to and from the King, and was kindly received by him.

"I must now return with my work unaccomplished, which will cause me a great deal of anxiety and fatigue. But what can I do otherwise than leave our case in the hands of the Almighty, and patiently await His will. He will, I hope, strengthen me to acquit myself of my difficult task as becomes a christian; and although the duty which now devolves upon me through the misconduct of Sinkanyala is by me particularly regretted, yet my hope is in God, who will not forsake those who put their trust in him.

"I perceive with astonishment that there are yet persons in the colony, whose hostile feelings are still displayed towards us, and who continue to calumniate us, though so far removed. They seem to wish us evil, and to anticipate the difficulties we shall have to contend with. I can thank God that their wishes and their expectations have not yet been answered. They would act much wiser were they first to wait and see the result of the case before they express their sentiments."

The following correspondence which has passed between Dingaan and Mr. Retief, will be perused with great interest. It shews that Dingaan is quite capable of comprehending a question of policy distinctly, and that he entertains sound notions of equity—and—what is still more to the purpose—is disposed to act upon its principles in his dealings with the Emigrant farmers:—

(No. 1.)

Uukunglove, Oct. 31, 1837.

SIR,—The king desires me to say, "that he took the sheep which the bearers of this letter have from Umzelekaz,* that they belong to the Dutch, and that he is anxious to return them to their own masters. That his army took many more sheep than those which you see; but hundreds of them died on the road,—that many more have died since they came here,—and that he sends you their skins. From all that he can learn from a woman who was brought from Umzelekaz' country, there were but nine head of cattle belonging to the Dutch, which his army captured, and these have all died since they came here, or he would have sent them to you." Umthlela, the Indoona, who headed the army, says, "that Umzelekaz fled with a great many cattle, and he supposes that the greater part must have belonged to the Dutch." The king was displeased with Umzelekaz for attacking the Dutch. He says, "that he does not expect that all the sheep which he sends will reach Port Natal, but that

* Umzelekaz is another name for the chief Matzelikatze.

many of them will die on the road." He says, "that he approves very much of the letter which you sent him."

I am, Sir, &c.,

F. OWEN, Missionary from England.

The Chief's § mark.

P.S.—The number of sheep leaving this place to-day, is 110. The king will send the skins by his people as far as the Tugala; and says, "you can send a wagon thither, if you please, to fetch them."

The next letter (marked No. 2) reiterates these friendly sentiments, and also refers to the inroad made into Dingaan's territories by a party of mauraunders, who appear to have passed themselves off as belonging to the emigrant farmers. We firmly believe Mr. Retief's disclaimer on this subject, not only because of that reliance which we have on his veracity, but because we heard at the time, from the mouth of a missionary who had seen the cattle brought in, that Sikonyela (the Mantatee chief living at the sources of the Caledon) had made an inroad into Dingaan's territory, and returned home with much booty. We have great hopes that Retief will be enabled to settle this unpleasant business by negotiation, and without having recourse to actual hostilities. Retief possesses too much prudence and humanity to engage in war, if it can be possibly avoided.

(No. 2.)

Unkunglove, Nov. 8, 1837.

SIR,—This is an answer to your letter of the 24th Oct., and the conversation which has now taken place.

I am sorry to hear that you have had such great losses by Umzelekaz. I took a great many of your sheep from Umzelekaz, many of which died on the road, many have died here; the remainder 110, I have already sent to you to the Tugala. I will send you the skins of the sheep which had died here to the Tugala. So far as I can understand from the woman who was brought from Umzelekaz' country, there were only nine head of cattle belonging to you, which I took, and these have all died, or I would have sent these too. I inform you that the cattle belonging to Umzelekaz have also died in great numbers, as I have shewn you by the skins. I understand by the army, that Umzelekaz has fled a great way off, that he has taken with him a great quantity of the Dutch cattle. Let me know the whole amount which you lost by Umzelekaz.

To go on now with the request you have made for the land, I am quite willing to grant it; but I first wish to explain that a great

many cattle have been stolen from me from the outskirts of my country, by people with clothing, horses, and guns. These people told the Zoolas that they were boers, and that one party was gone to Port Natal, and that they (the Zoolas) would see now what would come upon them. It is my wish now, that you should shew that you are not guilty of the charge which has been laid against you, as I now believe you to be. It is my request that you should retake my cattle and bring them to me ; and if possible, send me the thief, and that will take all suspicion away from me, and I will cause you to know that I am your friend. I will then grant you your request. I will give you some men, enough to drive the cattle which you retake to me, which will remove the suspicion that the stolen cattle are in the hands of the Dutch ; and I will also give you men whom you may send to make reports to me. If any cattle should be taken besides mine, I request that you will send them to me.

The mark ✕ of the Chief DINGAAN.

Witness, F. OWEN,
To Pieter Retief, Esq., Governor
of the Dutch Emigrants.

The following is Mr. Retief's last communication to the Zoola King :—

(No. 3.)

To DINGAAN, King of the Zoolas.

Port Natal, Nov. 8th, 1837.

With pleasure I acknowledge your friendliness and justice with regard to my cattle taken by you from Matselikatse. I thank you concerning the skins which you so cheerfully offered to return ; but I wish you to retain them for your own use and benefit. That so few of my cattle, as you say, were taken by your commando from Matselikatse I believe ; because I have seen many of your cattle at different villages, but have not found among them one of my own. Matselikatse, I have no doubt, has fled ; for he cannot but think and feel that I shall punish his very bad conduct. Already am I much grieved that I have been compelled to kill so many of his people, who only executed his cruel and wicked orders. What has now happened to Matsellikatse makes me believe that the Almighty and All-knowing God will not permit him much longer to live. From God's great Book we learn, that kings who do such things as Matselikatse has done are severely punished, and not suffered long to live and reign ; and if you wish to hear more fully how God treats such wicked kings, you can enquire of all the missionaries in your country. You can believe what these teachers tell you concerning God and his government over the world. In regard to these things

I must advise you frequently to speak with those gentlemen, who wish to teach you God's Word ; for they will inform you with what great power God has governed and still governs all earthly kings.

I assure you it is a good thing for you that you have allowed teachers to settle in your country. Also I assure you teachers have come to you because God hath put it into their hearts so to do ; and they can shew you out of the Bible, that what I now say is true. As a friend I must tell you this solemn truth, that all, whether white or black, who will not hear and believe God's word, shall be unhappy. These gentlemen have not come to ask you for your country, or for your cattle, or to give you trouble in any way ; but merely to teach you and your people God's good word.

I now heartily thank the King for his kind and favorable answer to my requests ; and I hope the king will remember his word and promise till I return. You may rest satisfied that I will do the same. I think it probable that before my return you will be troubled on account of the request I have made of you, and the promise you have given me ; and I also think it possible that more may be told the king about me and my people than can be shewn to be true. Should such things be told you, my wish and request is, that when I return you will tell me who may have said such things. I am not afraid to meet in your presence any one who may speak evil of me or my people. My wish is, that you will not please, before my return, to hearken to any one who may trouble you about the land in which I wish to live.

In regard to the thieves who stole your cattle, what they said, viz.—that they were boers, was a cunning device, to make you think that I was the thief, in order that they might themselves escape unpunished.

I am confident that I shall prove to the King that I and my people are innocent of this crime. Knowing my innocence I feel that you have imposed on me a severe task, which I must perform, in order to shew that I am not guilty ; for this which you require me to do, accompanied as it is with expense, trouble, and danger of life, I must answer to you, to the world, and to the all-knowing God. I now go, trusting in God, that I shall be able to execute this business in such a manner as that I shall have it in my power to give to all a satisfactory answer. This done, I shall then expect to be convinced that I have to do with a king who will keep his word.

I hope that a few of your people, and especially some from the kraals from which the cattle was stolen, will speedily follow me, according to agreement ; and also that they will carefully obey all my orders.

I thank you for the kind reception you gave me, and will endeavor always to show you equal kindness in return.

Your's truly,
(Signed) P. RETIEF.

P.S.— I enclose, for the King's information, a statement of persons murdered, and cattle plundered from the Emigrant Farmers by Matsellikatse, as follows :—

20 whites and 26 persons of color murdered, amongst whom were 9 women and 5 children.

Cattle plundered from 57 persons.

| | |
|----------------------------|--------|
| Saddle Horses,..... | 51 |
| Breeding do. | 45 |
| Draught Oxen, | 945 |
| Breeding Cattle, | 3,726 |
| Sheep and Goats,..... | 50,745 |
| Also 9 Guns, and 4 Wagons. | |

Signed, P. RETIEF.

During the course of these proceedings, and especially on the appearance of the manifesto of Retief, some hot and angry discussions took place as to the claims of the British Government to the allegiance of the self-expatriated Boers. The following hard sentences from Vattel were hurled at the heads of those who attacked the doctrine of independance, and altogether the disputants got up "a very pretty quarrel." Some argued that there was a law to prevent departure—others that the Governor had authority to issue a proclamation, "*ne exeat requo,*" and some that if there was no law to prevent migration there was one to prevent return, and that the severe penalty of fifty Rix-dollars or £3 15 0 (!) could be exacted from each Boer who came back. Whether the Colony had "failed to discharge its obligations," referred to by Vattel, I leave the Jurists to decide—but at all events such was alleged by the leading Boers as an excuse for their emigration. The English settlers, however, much more wisely awaited the effect of a constitutional representation of grievances, which, if is excepted the case of the slave compensation, they equally suffered with the Dutch farmers :—

VATTTEL, B. 1, Ch. 19, §223.—There are cases in which a citizen has an *absolute right to renounce his country and abandon it entirely* —a right founded on reasons derived from the *very nature of the social compact*. 1st.—If the citizen cannot procure subsistence in his own country, &c. 2nd.—If the body of the society, or *he who represents it, absolutely fail to discharge their obligations towards a citizen, &c.*, for if one of the contracting parties does not observe his engagement the other is no longer bound to fulfil his, &c. 3rd.—If the major part of the nation &c, attempt to enact laws, relative to matters on which the social compact cannot oblige every citizen to submission, &c. they have a right to quit the soil and settle elsewhere, and if the society suffers and is weakened by their departure the blame must be imputed to the intolerant party § 225.—The right to emigrate is a natural right, which is certainly reserved to each individual in the very compact itself by which civil society was formed. If the Sovereign attempts to molest those who have a right to emigrate he does them an injury, and the injured individuals may lawfully, &c.



P.S.—The circumstance of the Compiler residing at so great a distance from the place of publication (96 miles) will account for many typographical and other errors which he has in consequence been unable to correct as the sheets passed through the press.

PUBLISHING IN LONDON,
AND EXPECTED TO
ARRIVE IN THE COLONY BY FIRST VESSEL,
THE
E A S T E R N P R O V I N C E
OF
HER MAJESTY'S COLONY
OF THE
C A P E O F G O O D H O P E,
RECOMMENDED AS AN IMMIGRATION FIELD.
BY JOHN CENTLIVRES CHASE.

~~~~~  
“I speak of Africa and golden joys.”  
~~~~~

CONTENTS :

—o—

PART THE FIRST:

- Sect. 1.—The Discovery and Occupation.
2.—General Description of the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope.
3.—Description of the Eastern Province.
4.—History of the Origin and Progress of the British Settlement, established in the Districts of Albany and Uitenhage, on the Eastern Frontier of the Cape of Good Hope, in the year 1820.

PART THE SECOND:

- Sect. 1.—Present state of the Eastern Province of the Cape Colony as regards—Government—Law—Religion—Education & Schools—the Press and Periodical Literature—Agriculture—Trade and Commerce—Post Communication and Roads—Amusements—Naval and Military Defence, including Relations with the Kafir Tribes.

PART THE THIRD:

- Sect. 1.—Advantages of the Cape as an Immigration Field to Capitalists.
2.—To Laborers and the Labor Question
3.—Recapitulation.

ILLUSTRATIONS:

- View of Uitenhage,
View of Port Elizabeth,
The Isle of Santa Cruz, Algoa Bay,
Table Mountain and Table Bay,
Plan of the Mouth of the Great Fish River,
Great Seal of the Eastern Province,
A Map, and
Numerous Vignettes.



